

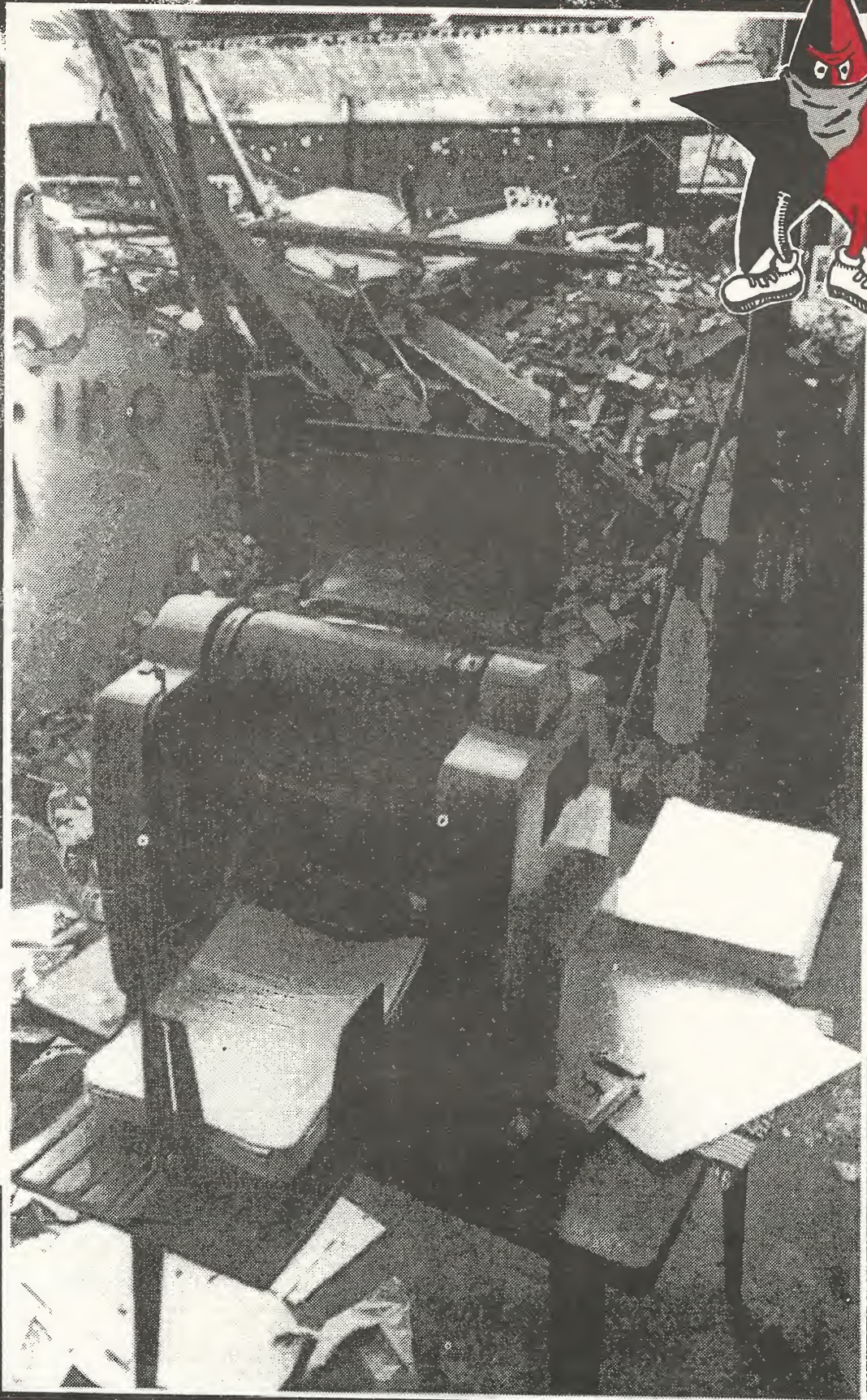
# ENDLESS STRUGGLE

No. 12

Spring/Summer 1990

\$1.00

INSIDE: Political Asylum • Gliban-diet "cure" on  
Anarchism & National Liberation struggles • Bombing &  
Stasi • Defining Autonomy • Against the IMF & World  
Bank • Resistance Conspiracy Case • Anarchism & Femin-  
ism • Repression in W. Germany • News • Reviews •





## INTRODUCTION

The cover for this issue of *Endless struggle* is rather symbolic for this particular issue. The photo is of the Leoncavalla squatted social centre in Italy, evicted & demolished in Aug. 1989. The printing machine in the foreground is all that remains amongst the rubble, but rather than the destruction of another squat, the small printing press indicates that the struggle continues. And this brings us to this issue of *Endless Struggle*... it will be our final issue. It's no great blow to our egos to say that in past issues our analysis has been less developed. With each issue we feel we've developed & become more specific in our perspective, & this issue is perhaps our most clarified. We are stopping at a time when there is already a lack of anarchist/radical papers in Vancouver, with only *Resistance* & *Open Road* still publishing. But we also feel that with *No Picnic* & *Ecomedia Vancouver* also defunct, that the amount of papers produced is more indicative of the actual level of activity here. How effective we are in making our ideas accesible is questionable, & now that we feel we have reached a point where we are clear in our perspective, it seems appropriate to stop this particular project & look at ways in which we can be more effective.

A special thank-you to *Maximum RocknRoll* magazine for their donation towards this issue & all the help throughout the years, & to everyone who helped or supported us. Please continue to send publications, info-bulletins, papers etc. to our PO Box (until Feb. 1991), stopping a paper doesn't mean developemnt or action stops.

Lucha Continua. ★



### Anarchici di:

Bergamo, Atene, Carrara, Bordighera, Londra, Colonnata, Catania, Genova, Parigi, Palermo, Toronto, Torino, Gela, Milano, Chiaramonte, Parma, Udine, Stoccolma, Gattinara, Alessandria, Napoli, Giarratana, Roma, Firenze, Piombino, Berlino, Bologna, Grosseto, Cagliari, Montignoso, Bradford, Bari, Modena, Vienna, Campo Calabro, Montreal, Brescia, Livorno, Vancouver, Perugia, Pinerolo, Pietrasanta, Massa.

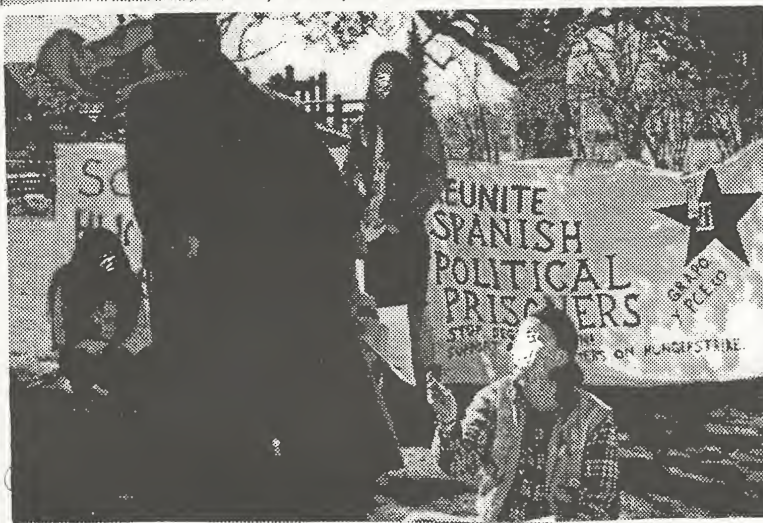
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### INFORMATION

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# GRAPO Y PCE(r) Hungerstrike Spanish Political Prisoners Fight for Re-Unification.



Spanish political prisoners of the GRAPO (First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups) & the PCE(r) (Spanish Communist Party (reformed)) have been on hungerstrike since Nov. 30/89. The situation at this time (March 25/90) has reached a critical point. Out of 60 prisoners, 41 remain on hungerstrike. All 41 are being force-fed (a dangerous practise which has resulted in permanent damage & even death, many prison doctors refused to carry it out), and all are in a pre-comatose stage. The goal of the hungerstrike is to stop the Spanish states campaign to physically eliminate political prisoners through increased repression, isolation & dispersal.

The origins of the present struggle by the prisoners began in the early '80s after 5 GRAPO prisoners escaped from Zamora prison in '79. The gov't. used this as a pretext to disperse the political prisoners into various prisons & place them in isolation. The prisoners reacted by beginning a hungerstrike, ending in 81 after the death of comrade Juan Jose Galende, forcing the gov't. to meet the prisoners demands including their return to collectives. The collectives, formed in 1978, are integral to the security & politics of the political prisoners. They organize political study, education, crafts, & work. However, the situation continually deteriorated. At the end of '87 the ruling Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) broke this agreement, attested to by the Inter-

national Red Cross, & dispersed the collectives at Soria (the "Karl Marx Commune") & Carabanchel prisons. The prisoners reacted with a hungerstrike, forcing the gov't. to maintain some of the collectives & improving living conditions. By Oct. 88 the gov't. again broke its agreement & began dispersals & repression. In Aug.89 a chain hungerstrike was initiated by some GRAPO members at Almeria. At this time, GRAPO/PCE(r) & ETA prisoners were dispersed to 83 out of a total 87 Spanish prisons. In Sept. more GRAPO/PCE(r) prisoners joined the hungerstrike, forcing the gov't. to promise to meet the demands on Sept. 21/89 as the country approached elections. After the elections, on Nov. 9-10, the gov't. denied the existence of any such agreement. This was the final act in 3 years of increasing repression including torture, beatings, censorship of mail, restrictions on visiting hours, tampering with food, reductions in living space, isolation, accompanied by death threats & verbal abuse... by Nov. 30/89 all GRAPO/PCE(r) prisoners, totalling 60, began an unlimited hungerstrike. Solidarity has been wide-spread in Spain, with other political prisoners including Basque militants undertaking solidarity hungerstrikes. 3 Red Cross offices have been occupied by the Association of Family & Friends of Political Prisoners, many protests & demos including one at the maximum security prison in Real with 12,000 people on

Dec. 31/89. GRAPO members have executed 4 *Guardia Civil* (police) in response to the gov't.s position. In W. Germany, the Bonn info office of the European Parliament was occupied by Family & Friends of Red army Faction prisoners, & some RAF prisoners have also begun solidarity fasts.

In Canada, protests were held on Mar. 20/90 at the Spanish Consulates in Toronto & Vancouver. In Vancouver, factories around the consulate were leafleted, & a solidarity fast begun-lasting 6 days. The solidarity fast was set up in a community park, located in a working class 'leftist' community with many Central American refugees, with a tent camp & banners. From here, over 1,200 leaflets were distributed & discussions held. Many people showed support, offering extra clothing & blankets for those camping out, hot drinks, & support. It was also a positive action for those who participated in the fast, because even though they only fasted for a 24-hour period it was a small way of understanding the implications of a hungerstrike, & the commitment & determination needed to carry out a hungerstrike for 4 months!

The campaign by the Spanish PSOE has followed the initiatives of other NATO states such as Italy & the FRG in escalating repression against political prisoners & their supporters while trying to induce defections by offering 'amnesty' & re-insertion into social prison conditions for those who renounce their politics & associations. The goal of this is to eliminate political prisoners either in form or physically, particularly in preparation for the European Unification in 1992. The success of the Spanish states campaign rests in our silence & complacency. The success of the hungerstrike rests in the struggle of the prisoners themselves, & by us on the outside breaking the silence by organising protests, actions, & by showing the Spanish state that their is solidarity with the prisoners. This is especially true as the Spanish state has approached the major media companies in Spain explicitly asking that they not cover the hungerstrike or support actions. The prisoners have called for international solidarity with their action, & whatever our political perspective on the radical left or anarchist movement, the struggle is ultimately for all political prisoners in Spain & Western Europe.

In Vancouver: Spanish Consulate, 3736 Parker st., Burnaby. Ph. 299-7760. (Nasty messages of protest!!).

In Spain: Association of Family & Friends of Political Prisoners; de Madrid, Apartado de correos 1997, 08080 Barcelona, Spain. (Messages of solidarity).

GRAPO: GRAPO is an armed group which became active on Oct. 1/75 as Franco celebrated the Sept. 27 executions of 5 anti-fascists. On Oct. 1, 4 of Francos henchmen were executed by GRAPO. On July 18/76 on the 30th anniversary of the fascist uprising in Spain, GRAPO bombs 30 different targets across Spain, destroying gov't. buildings & fascist monuments. GRAPO has also carried out kidnappings of military generals, executed high ranking officers & police, particularly in support of imprisoned comrades.



# ALF ACTIONS IN EDMONTON

During the fall of 89 Animal Liberation Front actions have disrupted the seemingly quiet western Canadian city of Edmonton. The actions, which have included attacks on a taxidermist, a "wildlife group" which was involved in wolf kills, various fur & meat shops, & corporate businesses such as Burger King, Kentucky Fried Chicken, & McDonalds, sparked a number of reactions from various animal rights groups, furriers & police. In an extreme though predictable case, one liberal 'animal rights' organisation, People Against Cruel Trapping, has gone so far in its efforts to protect the 'legal' struggle, that it has offered a \$1,000 reward for the arrest of ALF members! Some furriers claimed they'd be starting up their own "vigilante outfit" to watch their stores, which have been spraypainted, & their locks glued & windows smashed. As for the always diligent kops, one officer has been assigned full-time to co-ordinate the investigation. Clearly, the impact of ALF actions in other N. American cities, & especially in the UK & Europe, has the people who deal fur to the rich, & their lackeys, on the defensive. Hopefully comrades will be prepared for the increased surveillance & repression, particularly after the level of infiltration which came to light when Fran Trutt was arrested.

The factory farming of animals, & the ridiculous killing of animals for the superficial & elite pleasure of wearing fur are, in our eyes, justified targets. However, as we stated in ES #10 (ALF Attacks), we would hope that the actions are extended to a social struggle that has as its perspective; *class struggle*. Within the animal liberation milieu, there are some who see the destruction of a small business on the same level as the destruction of a multi-nationals outlet. Comrades engaged in such actions should set priorities based on a class analysis & proceed from there. In this way, multinationals (McDonalds etc), fur shops, corporate interests, should always be the priority for attacks. For who are the mass killers of life, animals (including people), on such a global scale, that they endanger the life of an entire world? It isn't the family farm or business, it's the capitalists, the rich, the business elite, the IMF, the multinationals, the banks... all suitable targets for those fighting for the liberation of animals, including people.

## ATTACK A FUR SHOP, ATTACK A SHELL STATION, EXTEND THE SOCIAL STRUGGLE TO CLASS STRUGGLE!

The Edmonton ALF Support Group is producing a booklet on actions in N. America (@\$1.50) & produces a newsletter, subs are \$10 or \$6 unemployed (as far as we know one of the only Support groups with a sliding scale-cheers!).

ALF-SG Edmonton. box 42, 10024-82 ave. Edmonton Alberta, T6E 123, Canada

*The following communique was recieved by Endless Struggle;*

ALF Edmonton. Sometime in January a small group of people who have been active in animal liberation have joined together as an ALF cell. We carry out actions against McDonalds, Burger King, Wendys, Harveys, Kentucky Fried Chicken, as well as various Butchers, furriers, & slaughterhouses.

Acts of economic sabotage are usually spraypainting the buildings & property, smashing windows, gluing locks etc. We try to get together once a week & have averaged lately anywhere from 2 to 9 targets in one night. Compared to Englands average of 40 actions per week, we feel pretty good about our efforts. We will try to keep the various media updated on our actions. In the early morning of Oct. 22 we attacked 7 furriers including the Bay, a leather shop, & queen City meats.

We don't plan to stop with these small actions (or what some would consider small), but plan to increase & broaden our range of both targets & tactics. Patience, time & practise are all it takes!

(Another) ALF Edmonton Cell



## DENMARK; ATTACK ON S. AFRICAN EMBASSY

On Sept. 8/89 the S. African embassy in downtown Copenhagen was almost completely destroyed in a well planned action against the racist apartheid regime. About 150 masked militants took part in the action that resulted in an estimated \$300,000 damage.

The area was first secured by blocking off several streets & intersections with barricades, making it impossible for cops & security to pass. Then 20 people from the larger group stormed to the embassy. They rode atop a large vehicle to the building, & with specialised equipment, smashed the giant plexi-glass windows on the first floor. Once inside the embassy, the group destroyed computers, telephone communications, desks, documents, cabinets, & typewriters, everything with electrical connections & more. As they left, an extremely malodorous acid was poured all over the "beautiful & elegant" carpets, destroying them. The whole action lasted only 5 minutes with no arrests.

The embassy was so heavily damaged that it had to be shut-down. Officials of S. Africa are planning to relocate the embassy in a far away suburb due to the action & ongoing protests at the present site. An accompanying communique was distributed via flyers, pamphlets, & poster. The poster also included info about an action by an anti-racist cell that bombed an important Shell office, causing over \$150,000 damage.



GOALS OF THE ATTACK ON THE S. AFRICAN EMBASSY IN COPENHAGEN

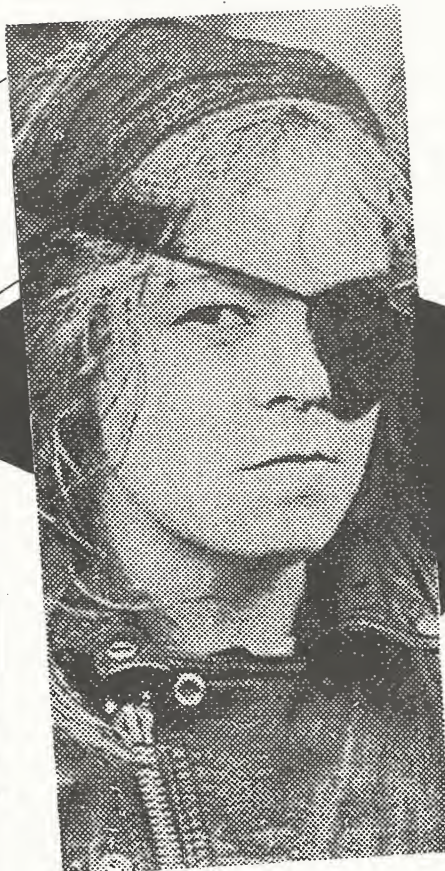
- 1) To destroy the embassy in a militant direct action.
- 2) To strengthen & build unity of all anti-apartheid groups.
- 3) To denounce the involvement of the Danish gov't., contrary to their public disinvestment announcements, in filthy profit-making businesses & the exploitation of S. African peoples.
- 4) To make the connections between different actions against imperialist profit-makers in S. Africa as being part of the whole anti-imperialist struggle.
- 5) To raise consciousness of a racist & murderous system, to encourage people to stand up & fight back!

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IS GROWING!  
DESTROY THE IMPERIALIST, FASCIST, MURDER REGIME IN SOUTH AFRICA!  
SHELL DOESN'T BURN DOWN BY ITSELF IT NEEDS YOUR HELP!  
FIGHT BACK!

Source; Bay Area Revolutionary Action newsletter no. 1.



# DEFINING THE AUTONOMOUS STRUGGLE



In the past few issues of *Endless Struggle*, & this issue, we have given considerable coverage to the autonomous movement in W. Europe. It is not a "fetish" or uncritical "worship" of this movement, but rather a practical attempt to present discussion from which we can learn. If generalization is allowed, it can be said the autonomous movement was an attempt to break down political sterility & dogma (often passed off as "clarity") & take what is practical & useful from revolutionary currents, whether it be anarchist or marxist. Because of this, what is often absent is discussion on what *autonomous* is.

With this in mind we have translated the following article from *Sabotaje* no. 7, an autonomous magazine from Spain. Some aspects of the article may be "repulsive" to some, perhaps more obstinate, anarchists. Against this, we also feel there is a growing tendency in revolutionary currents in N. America that will find affinity with this perspective. Particularly those of us who see the need for a new projectuality beyond the mystical confusion or worse- the "pure in thought & deed" tendencies, that typify the radical movement in N. America.

We propose the perspective presented in this article be discussed & expanded, & if in the end we find it relevant & practical, applied.

(thanx to C. for the translation).

When the time comes to attempt & define "autonomy", we can see the impossibility of finding such a definition, as autonomy is the opposite of "orthodoxy".

The first thing to define is that there does not exist a true theory about the practise of revolution, nor marxism, anarchism, ecology, or other theories of today that are able to encompass the social realities. So we find marxists-leninists-stalinists or maoists, anarchists of the night' or mystics & other elements who try to fit social reality into their theories, and as a result these theories convert into false ideologies & false representations of the social realities. This is when marxists (from stalinists to euro-communists) & these anarchists (integrists or nights) convert into accomplices of the exploitation, or at least into in-offensive pseudo-revolutionaries.

Because we are against this, dividing the in-existence of a "true revolutionary", we prefer to go on elaborating theory in view of the daily practise; amongst theory & practise there is a dialectical interrelation. The theory only advances as the support of the struggle, the practise only advances when it is backed by a theoretical construction. We would rather distance ourselves from those who want revolution all at once & those who spearhead activity or action by action.

We are not anti-marxists & for sure we are not anti-anarchists; for we take from both theories that which is practical. The theories of 100 years ago cannot explain the total social phenomenon (for example, the nuclear threat, the new international division of labour, the ecological catastrophe), but they support the instruments of analysis & the struggle which we can't renounce. We can say that we are marxists & anarchists, but of the lower case<sup>2</sup>,

understanding that we do not construct a global theory & that the global deformities that marxism supposes (in its diverse school of thought) & anarchism are an obstruction to our struggle.

To give an example of this we can refer to the differences in the concept of "revolution" that they have & that we have. Traditionally for all marxists & also the simplified messianics of anarchism, they have extended the revolution as an "act"; there has been previous work & preparations to this final act which is this marvelous day when the proletariat will rise up to break free of the chains & forever finish with exploitation. After this a biblical paradise will be extended over the earth; the quasi-religious interpretations of the revolution has been revealed as a mystification & the

results are obvious in the revolutions that have "triumphed". Against this concept, we understand the revolution as a process that begins the moment an individual or a group understands that it is possible or necessary for a revolution. It is a process that begins in the daily lives of those that wage the struggle, a process where there is no great day, no biblical insurrection; but rather a collective.

(& individual also) struggle to develop & reach the maximum capacity & happiness of both men & women.

As we have seen, to be autonomous is not only to be on the margins or against the partys', the institutions, & organisations that limit the struggle of the class (ie. unions), not only those, but we must confront the false ideologies that convert into accomplices & legitimizers of exploitation. It is not just to give ourselves an important name, it's to realize a practical autonomy. That is to say, not to be manipulated or mediated by any power or their representatives (parliamentary, delegation, authoritarianism, machismo). It is not to try to create another false ideology or assume a position of the vanguard from which to dictate new paths, but rather to analyse which direction the movement needs to go & assume spontaneous practises of resistance of the people (for example expropriation, thievery, sneaking onto buses without paying, destruction of urban structures', these are expressions of dissatisfaction & a way of chastizing that the people do in a spontaneous method including unconsciously, it is a question of assuming these practises & giving them political content & understanding), to assist the mechanisms of self-organisation that the people develop in determined situations to respond to aggressions (for example, the recent mobilizations against the nuclear industry, outside of the partys' that went to the other side, including the margin of ecologists), to denounce & expose the power & gestures of the political partys' to mediate actions etc.

There has been no area of autonomy with unrestricted border. There has been no autonomy, where struggles have been near to it, which has advanced toward establishing revolutionaries, which has self-organised & set in motion a revolutionary method, where individuals have self-transformed & at the same time confronted the misery, which takes instead of asks, which acts instead of waiting, there exists those individuals & those groups that define in each

moment

that which is autonomy. In spite of this, there exists an axis of minimum definition; we will briefly list & explain:

**SELF-MANAGEMENT:** on all levels & not reduced to the economic level. We will fortify ourselves in the philosophies of history, beginning with the self-governing of our lives, developing to the maximum creative capacity of our lives. We need to do this realizing the limits of our work, with relation to capitalism, sexual norms, & the "castration" of "education"...

**ANTI-AUTHORITARIANISM:** also extended to the global mode; conquering hierarchy, conquering sexual divisions imposed by patriarchy, & establishing mechanisms of direct democracy that permits a collective & equal decision making process.



# And We Thought It Couldn't Happen Here...

## Summary of the Regional Anarchist Gathering held in Vancouver, January 26-29, 1990.

A Regional Anarchist Gathering for the Pacific-Northwest (BC, Washington & Oregon states) was held on the weekend of January 26-29/90. On the Friday evening a welcoming was held for out of towners to facilitate billets, distribute schedules & socialize.

Saturday & Sunday were full days of workshops, discussions & presentations, with over 200 hundred people attending throughout the weekend. Free food was provided, & the Native Education Centre, where the gathering was held, added to the informal & relaxed atmosphere.

Twenty workshops were scheduled, & there were a couple of cancellations & a handful of spontaneous workshops. Some of the workshops included a presentation on the 18th anniversary of Bloody Sunday presented by the Irish Solidarity Committee, urban organic gardening, a discussion on radical environmentalism & social ecology, squatting, & animal liberation.

There are some workshops that we'd like to detail, though because of limitations of space we can't do this for all the discussions. The anarchist-feminist workshop had an informal introduction of music depicting machismo. It focused on challenging the stereotypical definitions of feminine & masculine, the goal of which was to show the importance of having a feminist analysis within our anarchist politics as both men & women.

As this was a regional gathering, a few of the workshops focused on local situations. The Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en gave a presentation on their land-title action, which has been covered by local anarchist papers such as *No Picnic, Open Road, & Ecomedia Vancouver*. There was also discussion on other native land struggles such as Big Mountain, as well as the connections between apartheid systems of repression whether they be in S. Africa or N. America. *Prostitutes & Other Women for equal Rights (POWER)* presented a discussion on the murders of sex-trade workers that have occurred over the past few years in Vancouver, & the difference in attitude between the reactions to this atrocity & the reaction to the Montreal massacre. This was seen as a reflection of the prejudice against sex-trade workers covered up in the excuse that these killings happened one at a time.

Another workshop which focused on a local situation was the *Pacific North-West & the Right Wing*. The Aryan Nations, with their base in Hayden Lake, Idaho, have been (& still are) attempting for years to establish the region as a fascist stronghold.

There were 2 workshops held on tactics of resistance, one focusing on small group & individual actions, the other focusing on demonstrations. Ideas were presented on how to effectively organise a demo, which included knowing individual & group strong-points as well as limitations & choosing a target. Another aspect focused on was how to be an effective & responsible participant & keeping in mind that every demo has revolutionary potential.

There was an obvious conscious effort to address & include feminism & women's issues during this gathering, which has been seriously lacking at other gatherings. Workshops typically controlled by men, such as prisoners & tactics, had women giving presentations.



There was a (women's only) women's empowerment workshop which resulted in local Vancouver women organising a monthly "get-together" & the conceptual birth of a regional gathering to be held in Seattle possibly this summer. There was a spontaneous anarchist men's consciousness raising workshop held at the same time. Other spontaneous workshops included women's health issues & self-help & combatting violence against women. One spontaneous workshop, that didn't get off the ground, was the queer anarchist networking. This was not only disappointing but disgraceful. As well, the scheduled anti-racism workshop was cancelled for lack of attendance. Two areas completely lacking were combatting racism & homophobia.

The International Solidarity & Revolutionary Resistance discussion was presented as a development towards an anti-imperialist perspective, with the idea of extending social struggles to an international level of resistance. A brief historical development of global capitalism, in stages from 1800-1900, WW II, to the present was given. The main point of the discussion was, particularly for anarchism, to develop a perspective on national liberation struggles. In the past, this was presented as a question of "do we or don't we support them". For this discussion, the question was presented as "how do we support them", considering the limitations & contradictions of national liberation struggles & the conditions imposed on them by world economic structures. A proposal for organising a gathering specifically focusing on International solidarity & Anti-Imperialism was put forward.

Besides the proposals for the anarchist-feminist & the International Solidarity gatherings, there has been a monthly anarchist coffeehouse & a similar anarchist-feminist group already started. The proceeds from the gathering, after expenses were paid, totalled approx. \$450. Out of that, \$200 was donated to the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en, & \$50 to POWER. The rest of the money is being saved to help finance other projects or proposed gatherings.

If anarchist gatherings are to be more than "social events", then these examples of practical outcomes must be an essential part of future gatherings. The question we should be asking ourselves is: What is the purpose of such gatherings? Because of the obvious diversity in political perspectives & general lack of focus to these gatherings, they should be used as a point of reference for developing direction rather than a conclusion unto themselves. ★

'Rads for Revolutionary Resistance

## AUTONOMOUS cont. from pg. 5

DIRECT ACTION: as an instrument of struggle in accordance with the above mentioned.

NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE END RESULT & THE MEANS: in accordance with our conceptions of revolution as a process, the methods of struggle are in fact the same struggle itself; the ends of the struggle are not defined, the priority; with groups & individuals that confront the state on a daily basis are the ones who choose the methods of struggle; & their objectives are noted in their dialectic relation between the practice & the theory. The opposition of violent struggles/non-violent struggles is false; the opposition is found amongst struggles manipulated by the powers & their represented ideologies, & by so many non-liberators (which can be equally violent or non-violent), & amongst autonomous struggles & by so many liberators.

ANTI-CAPITALISM: the surmounting of the logic of productivity & economy that is leading the world into destruction. This supposes to begin to renounce the myths of work & their morals, the myth of money & the myth of consumerism of shit (well, there is no other thing being consumed under capitalism), reaching the maximum realization of happiness. ★

## Notes;

1. *Anarquistas trasnochados*, which translates into "anarchists of the night", perhaps meaning hidden, secretive, or "fly by night".
2. Meaning they are not Marxists or Anarchists, but rather are against the dogmatic interpretations of claiming to be this or that political ideology.
3. *Mobiliario urbano*, which we translate into being riots, vandalism, clashes with police etc. We would also recommend reading *From Riot to Insurrection* by Alfredo Bonanno on this idea of participating in social struggles & attempting to extend them to an insurrectional level.



# **FEMINIST MOVEMENT?**

*The following articles are an effort to show that an "Anarchist Movement" alone has no substance, the Feminism must be synonymous with Anarchism, and that serious adjustments need to be made before this movement can move anywhere.*

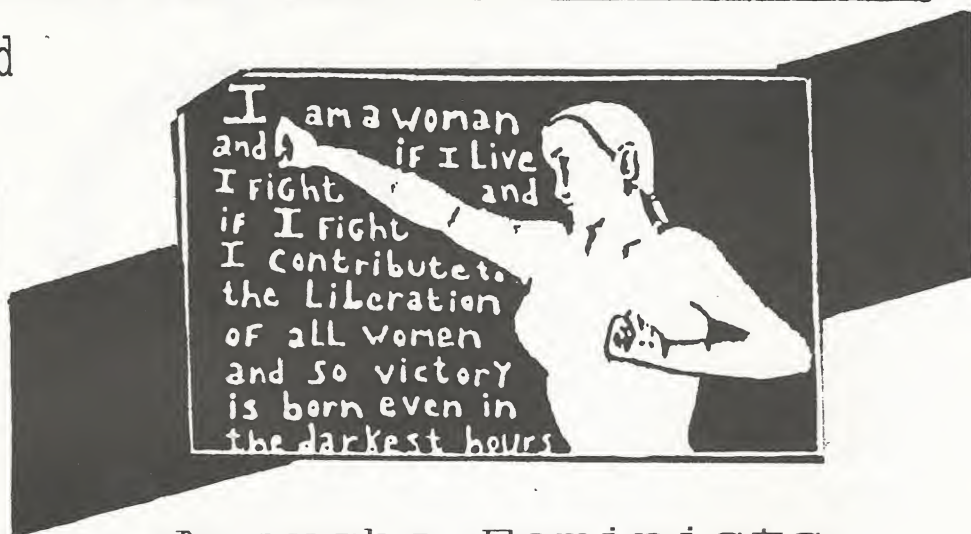
## For ♂ who Feel Threatened by ♀-Only Rap Groups

Wimmin don't have Wimmin-only discussion groups to sit around and "men bash." There are definitely times when wimmin desperately need to cleanse ourselves of sexist bullshit, blatant or subtle, that we've accumulated and find support & suggestions from other wimmin, but men should not be so egotistical to think we have nothing better to do than sit around and complain about them.

We have these meetings for a number of reasons, but a couple of major reasons are:

1. To discuss issues pertaining to our bodies that don't get discussed enough, if at all, at mixed-gender gatherings. (The NW regional gathering in Vancouver was a pleasant exception to this rule. ed.), and
2. To find empowerment by discussing general political issues with wimmin and only wimmin, where we've typically been led to believe that men were our only sources of information, which is a myth.

The latter issue is an important one because it is a major root to the fear and disempowerment that promotes sexism in this movement and the world. Wimmin don't need to feel dependent on men to fulfil our political needs, and men don't need to be afraid that if we aren't dependent on them, that we won't need them because we can do it by ourselves. The fact is wimmin don't need men to fulfil our political needs. Some wimmin, both heterosexual & lesbian, choose to work with certain men on certain issues. Some wimmin, both heterosexual and lesbian, choose to avoid working with men where it is at all possible. The key is that wimmin feel enough empowerment in ourselves and our political resources that we do not have to put up with any sexism or machoism from our political men friends. Men need to look at that fact realistically and decide if their wimmin comrades are important enough to them to seriously examine their own sexism and start working toward healing themselves, because wimmin are deciding everyday.



## Anarcha-Feminists, Anarcho-Feminists, & Anarchists

*This article was written in Sept. 89, but has been printed no where previous to this. It relates events that occurred at a regional anarchist gathering in Ottawa in May 89.*

There is a problem within the Anarchist Movement on how to effectively deal with confrontational situations and more importantly prevent situations from occurring. A lot of people who know me have heard me relate, or rather rant about, a situation that occurred at the NE Regional Anarchist Gathering in Ottawa, May, 1989, which was held as a response to ARMX (the arms exhibition & trade show held every two years in Canada). I appreciate those people for bearing with me through rehashing it verbally, over & over again, because I feel I can now, four months later, adequately offer a constructive criticism on the incidents that occurred during the men's anti-sexism workshop and the Anarcha-Feminist (This is the term I use to describe anarchist wimmin who believe it essential to have a feminist analysis in their politics.) Wimmin-only discussion group.

These two workshops were held simultaneously near the end of the weekend long gathering. Unfortunately, this caused the Anarcha-Feminist's discussion group to be focused around cleansing ourselves of all the sexist shit we had had to deal with all weekend from anarchist men. We began our group outside, but it began to rain so we moved to a room so small it could hardly contain all the Anarcha-Feminists in attendance, but we crammed.

From secondhand sources, at the men's discussion group there were some very disruptive and aggressive men in attendance. Anarchists wondering if wimmin should be "allowed" to have our O.W.N. space or if having a Wimmin-only discussion group was even valid. Anarchists also complained about being oppressed by separatists and some wondered what feminism meant. The Anarcho-Feminists (This is the term I use to describe anarchist men with some degree of feminist analysis in their politics.) in the group couldn't get a whole point across without being interrupted. Unfortunately, I feel, the Anarcho-Feminists didn't have

\* If you want to contribute articles, opinions, etc. or need information,  
Please write to: O.W.N., P.O. Box 69601, Stn. K, Vancouver, B.C. V5K 4W7



# Anarcha/Anarcho-Feminists & Anarchists

enough self-confidence in their own feminists' analysis to deal with or handle the situation. They got frustrated. They decided to end the meeting. They decided to play soccer. This was a poor decision. Dealing with tough issues, like sexism and racism, is not easy, but walking away is not an effective method in dealing with the hard times. In this case it proved disastrous.

Meanwhile the Anarcha-Feminists have no idea any of this has occurred. This man comes up a number of times and disrupts our group. The first time he comes up, he says, "Oooo, a bunch of 'women' in this room, heh heh." He was informed of the type of meeting we were having and told to leave. The second time he comes up, he makes some lewd and abusive comment about how we're all a bunch of 'dykes' who should go suck the shit out of dead goats. We are properly pissed by this time and tell him to bugger off. He immediately goes downstairs and starts banging on these drums directly below us so that we can't even hear each other talk. We're pissed, and when we go outside

into the rain to continue our meeting and see our Anarcho-Feminist comrades playing soccer, we're furious.

A lot of us blew up right then and told those Anarcho-Feminists how dare they be playing soccer and not having any type of anti-sexism workshop let alone dealing with this disruptive asshole in the house. Others of us waited to blow up later, after returning from our meeting which continued in an underground parking lot, when fatal mistake #2 happened. The Anarcho-Feminists misinterpreted what the Anarcha-Feminists had said about "dealing with the asshole in the house" and decided that they were the heroes out to save the day. Some Anarcho-Feminists who were there might think this is an unfair criticism, but since there has been no other analysis of these events so far, I'm calling them the way I see them, and anyway it all needs to be looked at.

I feel that we need to look at the situation and learn from it. Here are some ideas on how things should have been different.

1. The Anarcho-Feminists should have serious-

ly tried to continue the anti-sexism discussion group by,

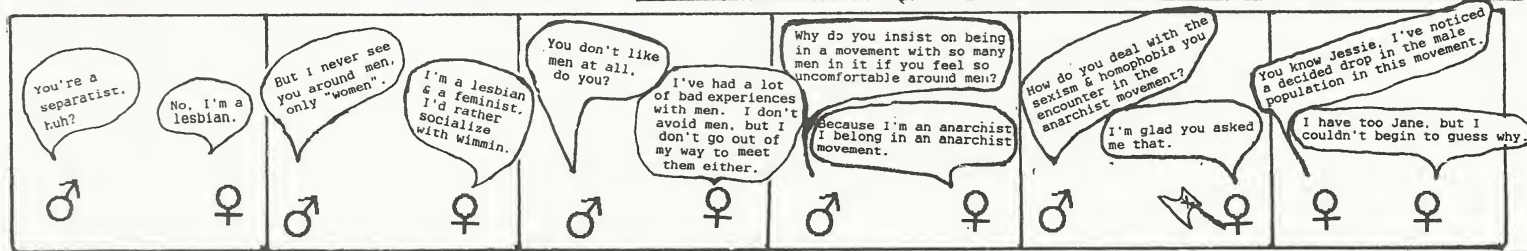
- a. Trying to deal with the more problematic Anarchist men.
- b. Asking them to leave if these Anarchists proved to be too disruptive.

2. The Anarcha-Feminists should have been informed that tension was high within the men's group, whether the meeting continued or not, and warned that some men might try to disrupt or confront our meeting.

Through idea #2, the wimmin could have been more prepared mentally to deal with the situation, and it would have let us know that the Anarcho-Feminists were aware of the potential and were prepared to offer support should it be requested. None of these things happened, and it left a lot of bad feelings all around.

I realize that there may be some holes in my analysis, and that some of the secondhand information may be faulty, but at least it is a beginning toward showing how we can more effectively work toward preventative tactics and how we need to be constantly prepared to deal with crisis situations. Any further developments on this critique are welcome.

## Life in Anarchyland



## Sexism? In the Anarchist Movement? In San Francisco?

This article was originally written for *Ideas & Action* on request. I would first like to thank them for asking me to write this article, and I'd also like to thank all the wimmin who attended, performed and put on workshops at the O.W.N. (Obnoxious Wimmin's Network) Gathering. Without them I wouldn't have felt the ability to express myself as clearly as I did during the mixed gender gathering held in San Francisco.

I witnessed a basketball game being played at the gathering. It was fun to watch because there were equal amounts of ♂ & ♀ playing...at first. But soon the game became more competitive and very aggressive, and slowly but surely, one by one the wimmin began to be excluded from the game. I saw the last womyn left on the court completely ignored by the rest of the players and finally there were only men left playing.

A friend of mine, a man, (No, I'm not one of those "fearsome lesbian separatists.") was also watching the game, and to his credit, noticed what had happened. When he confronted the players, the first response was, "How do we get them back?" The second was, "Maybe they were hungry? Food's being served right now." The third was, "I'm small too, & I'm still playing." But the clincher was, "I didn't notice the wimmin were leaving until they were all gone."

How pathetic. Unfortunately this is not an isolated incident. Unfortunately this exemplifies the Anarchist Movement as a whole. Unfortunately

this exemplifies sexism. The first attitude is heroism, "How can we (♂) right the wrong?" The second is denial, "It can't be our fault. They must have had something else to do." The third is equating, "I'm oppressed too!" And the last is the pathetic but typical vanishing act. Wimmin aren't invisible until men don't notice us.

So, what can be done? You may ask. Well, here I want to shatter another myth that men cling to when dealing with their own sexist beliefs. The first myth is that there are "fearsome lesbian separatists" within this movement who are "out to get the men." (*Lesbians aren't even attracted to men!* ed.) The second is what ♀ don't educate ♂. "How are we (♂) going to learn if 'our sisters' don't teach us?" ♀ have always educated ♂ and still do. Men are just slow learners and poor listeners, but listen up because I've got some concrete suggestions.

The most fundamental thing men need to do is educate themselves on feminism. The pamphlet "Anarchism & Feminism" by Lynn Farrow brings up a lot of important points. I encourage everyone to pick it up and read it.\* When trying to understand feminism, try not only to see the oppression of wimmin, but how men's oppression, especially your own oppression, directly leads to wimmin's oppression in personal and public life. Try to notice personally and prevent sexism toward wimmin.

Which leads to other things men can do. Be like the man on the sideline, notice & confront situations when they're happening. Try to notice especially if you're one of the players, because it's happening right now to the Anarchist Movement, and we're all players, and it's not a game, and it's not funny. Male dominance is no joke inside or outside of any political movement.

If men see wimmin handling a situation don't jump in or get in the way. Wimmin don't need men's permission to do anything, and if we need your help, we'll ask.

If men see a situation that's not being dealt with, deal with it.

If you (a man) are in a conversation with a womyn, listen to what she's saying and don't belittle her oppression by trying to equate it with your own.

Adapt it to your life. It won't happen over night, but it won't happen at all until we start making it happen. In workshops, in games, in conversations, in relationships, in politics, everywhere, be aware.

It's happening now. Wimmin are getting sick of dealing with sexism in a place where we should be safe. We're making our O.W.N. spaces and having our O.W.N. gatherings. We're still here, but the signs are loud and clear. If men don't start noticing and changing the situation, the wimmin won't just leave, we'll have our O.W.N. Movement, and it'll be too late to say, "How do we get them back?"



**Endless Struggle;** The Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en Land Title Action has been described as a precedent setting action. Could you give a brief description on the process the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en have undertaken in the courts?

**Gary:** Our statement of claim is a declaration of ownership & jurisdiction of the 22,000sq. miles of traditional territory. We're asking for confirmation of that from the supreme court of BC.

**ES:** Some of the grounds upon which you've launched the case are integral to the traditional form of society the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en have always had, could you explain what these are?

**Gary:** First of all, there's two communities, the Gitksan and the Wet'suwet'en; they're quite similar through marriage & also the geographical proximity, so there's a lot of cross-cultural activities. We number about 6,000 in total, of all the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en there's about 96 House groups, & the size of the House group can be up to 200 & as few as 15. Each one of these House groups or extended families, is based on the matrilineal system where property is passed on along the mothers side, both real & unreal. By real I mean land, unreal is the family history & all the names which come since ancient times have been handed down in a particular house. All the transactions in & around the land, & other types of property (regalia, songs, & legends) are all handed down according to our traditional law which we call *ayookh*. That's the law which we base all our actions from. The integrity of that law is the bottom line from which we say we own & have jurisdiction over these territories.

**ES:** There is also a conflict between this and the Band Councils, which the Canadian government created to administer reservations... could you elaborate on this?

**Gary:** Well there's basically two systems that co-exist. There's the traditional one, & that's what we're talking about & that's the integrity of the whole hereditary chiefs & our cultural infrastructure, & that's the bottom line from which we operate traditionally. Okay, along comes the Federal gov't. & they impose the Indian Act, their instrument & their vehicle for implementing the Act is through the Band Council. That's an elected system, or what I call a corporate structure. And they aren't necessarily in conflict in terms of developing a community but it makes life difficult when you got two systems co-existing together. The chiefs have been able to accommodate both systems & they've evolved together. The chiefs realize where the Band Council gets its life from, 7 it's from the Indian Act, & we realize the Indian Act is the instrument of oppression of Indian people. And we've lived with that & tolerated that, now- with the land question, who owns the land, that's what the hereditary chiefs have always asked, popularly known as the "land claim". Land claim is a misnomer, it kind of implies that we're going to the gov't. & we're claiming a land. We're not "claiming" anything- we're asserting ownership & jurisdiction, and now it's up the gov't. to respond to us, & we're asking for confirmation of that. Hopefully that will assist us in compelling the province to come to the negotiating table.

## THE GITKSAN-WET 'SUWET' EN

Interview with two members of the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en Land Title Action



GRAPHIC: ENDLESS STRUGGLE.

**Homer:** If I can just add- one of the conflicts I see with the Department of Indian Affairs is the problem of self-government. Under the DIA we have absolutely no say in what goes on, & everything is dictated thru the DIA & up until recently there has been no input from natives themselves. Now that's one conflict. Another one is the matrilineal system. That's our system, & the DIA want to go in a patriarchal system.

**Gary:** And there is that conflict all the time. I'm not suggesting that co-existence means there's no conflict.

**ES:** What stage is the court process in now?

**Homer:** All the submissions are in now, & the lawyers are preparing for the final argument. We, the plaintiffs, will be starting in April 2nd in Smithers BC & it'll be going for 4 weeks, then one week off, & then it'll be coming back to Vancouver & the Province has 3 weeks for their final argument, then a 1 week break, & then the Federal gov't. has 2 weeks for a final argument. It should be finished by the end of June. After all this is done, the judge will be sitting on this & he'll be expected to make his decision at the end of the year or in Jan. 1991.

**Gary:** The land question has been an issue since contact, & in modern times the Band Council, or what was known then as the Tribal council, they started preparing for the court case in the early '70s to codify the laws to document the boundaries of the territories. In 1984 the claim was registered & then the court actually started in May 11/87.

What's interesting about this court case is the court allowed the chiefs to give evidence as the expert witnesses. And that created a lot of problems for the Supreme Court of BC

because it had to develop new processes to allow for that through interpreters & ruling on "hearsay" evidence, because the dogma of the courts is so rigid. They had to develop new processes to allow for the hereditary chiefs to speak, to give evidence on their own laws, rather than bringing "experts & consultants" in to do that.

**ES:** Wasn't that also part of the gov't.s case, that the hereditary chiefs no longer had the traditional powers, part of their argument being that native people were no longer a distinct people, that their culture no longer existed, that the culture had acquired?

**Gary:** That's true. And what the Province is saying, the Province is the defendant, & because of what the claim was the Federal gov't. was compelled to be co-defendants; the provincial crown's position is denial, & they brought evidence to try & prove- they said "no, no, no, you guys don't have any lands at all, the chiefs don't represent the people, you have no laws, you just created this whole issue because it's a land grab, you saw the opportunity & you moved in there."

And they're also saying that land title has been extinguished, since Confederation, ok, altho there has never been any explicit legislation to prove that, & just the fact that the Provincial jurisdiction is there gives it credence, weight. So what they're saying is, ok well even though we did it illegally, it's done. So cover their rear-ends, they're saying "ok, if there is aboriginal title, it's not our responsibility, it's the Federal gov't.s.

**ES** Passing the buck...  
**Gary:** That's right. So that brings the Federal gov't. into the picture. And also, if there is aboriginal title, they're trying to reduce it by



saying "you guys abandoned the laws, you abandoned your territory... look at you - you wear the whitemans clothes, drive cars, you use highways, you have a driver license".

ES: One of the arguments was also that native people had windows in their houses (!)...

Homer: Yes, that's all the transcripts...

Gary: There's two other elements to their position. One is acquiescence - they say that ever since contact we never resisted, & they brought evidence to try & prove that. But what they did was they didn't review all the documents, they only selected certain documents that proved their case. Our lawyers went & looked at the same evidence & found there was a lot of resistance. Diminishment is the other element. They're trying to prove that aboriginal title in our interest has been severely diminished so that all we're claiming is just those trapping grounds where we're really active.

ES: Given the institutionalized racism inherent in the system, & the corporate structures which the legal apparatus is an integral part of, how much faith do you place in the legal process?

Gary: Well, me personally, I'm really cynical & skeptical, but we're using this process hoping that it will assit us, but I think the real action is going to be at the community level, & it has to be a political solution. It is a political issue, altho the court case will hopefully expand the issue of aboriginal rights

Homer: The gov't.s track record on justice for the aboriginal people has been very lacking. When this court first started I thought it would just be Public Relations, to make it look like we had our day in court but we're gonna lose. Now, I can be proven wrong, & I hope I am when we win this case, & that'll resore my belief that there is some good in the gov't. towards native people.

ES: One of the more clear examples of native resistance has been the use of blockades, how did they develop in the Gitksan-wet'suwet'en situation, & do you see them as complimentary to the struggle in the courts?

Gary: I think the blockades have been relatively "soft", & a lot of people find it highly controversial, they don't like that kind of confrontation, even though it's just a small little road-block. There are other things the chiefs could have done that are more confrontational. Civil disobedience is just a tactic, draws attention & sort of agitates... if things don't happen there are a lot of younger warriors who aren't as patient.

Homer: One of the things that is said is "silence is condoning what's going on". And these road-blocks are telling the public we do not condone the actions of the gov't. And if that's the only language they'll listen to that's what they'll get.

ES: Do you think the blockades, besides the immediate effect, also served as a more concrete example of struggle within the community?

Gary: It's highly community based. Not all the chiefs have blockaded, just those chiefs whose territory is threatened by clear-cutting, they've been compelled to say "no more cutting". The blockades are particular

to a house group, & there's some that have aligned together. The other chiefs support that, though some of them are a bit apprehensive about it, because what they're doing is upholding *ayook*, our laws. It's an expression of our ownership, it's not just words, even though it's "soft", it's still a manifestation of ownership & jurisdiction.

ES: It's transforming words into practise...

Gary: Yeah

ES: Canada has been held up as a "world leader" in the struggle against apartheid in S. Africa, even though it's been said that S. African apartheid is only a more unsophisticated version of apartheid... what is your response to this?

Gary: I think apartheid exists in Canada, you know, we've been segregated too, where our people have been put into these little lots of land. That's the basis of apartheid, so why can't you call it apartheid in Canada as well?

Homer: It's still in effect today, even as we talk. If the federal gov't. sais "well, you're entitled to this & that, provided you stay on your little land. Once you leave that, you're on your own". In other words, once you leave the reserve, they've washed their hands. In effect what they're saying to you is "you stay on that little piece of land". They're gonna make it hard for you by saying you lost this and that right, that you had on the reserve. now they call it "on reserve/off reserve policy". And these are the same people; indians. We've never had "off reserve" or "on reserve" until the immigrants came around.

ES: When you reflect back on the support you've recieved in the last few years, how succesful do you see it as being?

Homer: Support can only be positive. I think there's more people getting on the bandwagon getting on the bandwagon now, for the simple reason that they're more aware of what's going on up there & our style of life, what we have to offer. Before, they had no clue, & I think when people are ignorant, what they don't know scares them. From what I've seen, there's been more & more support, especially in the last few months.

Gary: I've always felt the gernal public really didn't care, we were on our own, & if we were gonna resolve this issue we had to do it on our own. But recently I sense a change, growing support for aboriginal groups & in the environmental movement, & many native groups allying with these people, sharing a common concern but approaching from a different angle.

ES: What are your prospects for the future?

Gary: What do we see down the road? I think the struggle will continue.

Office of the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en  
Hereditary Chiefs  
#405-553 Granville st., Vancouver  
BC, V6C 1Y6 Canada.

## Ohio 7, cont. from pg. 26



The Ohio 7 never admitted the actions or denied them, but announced their solidarity with the actions; "We believe it is absolutely necessary to build armed clandestine organisations as part of a developing strategy & building a revolutionary anti-imperialist resistance movement. If we do not develop the determination & the means to wage armed struggle, we are merely creating a support movement for a revolution others will make, but not a revolutionary movement itself" (Ohio 7 statement).

The 1984 arrests of the 7 in NE Ohio, after an extensive search code-named *BOSLUC* (for Boston, the originating FBI office, & Luc for Ray Luc Levasseur), the massive *Western Sweep* (which included 1 in 3 households in the area), brought to an end what turned out to be 10 years of life living underground for members of the Ohio 7, which included all that it entails; false id & documents, safe-houses, moving etc., plus raising children! It was in the mid-'70's that most of them went underground, in the face of increasing repression & harrasment by police. "For up to 10 years the gov't., using extensive counter-insurgency methods & operations, including the targetting of children- has hunted us & continues its operations against other comrades & organisations. However, during that decade, a clear example has been set of how political fugitives extensively sought, could & still, not only survive, but grow & develop, raise children & continue & further develop revolutionary work." (Ohio 7).

The victory in the courtroom wasn't granted by the state, it was taken by the Ohio 7 in a political struggle, which the Ohio 7 were well aware of. "... I am the factory worker, the farm worker, the prisoner, the veteran, the unemployed. The person living on the edge of someone elses dream. I want to do everything I can, however small a contribution that might be, to bring this suffering to an end... I believe in civil disobedience... but I also beleive in civil resistance. If it takes armed actions or armed resistance to make this gov't. accountable to the needs of the people, then it should be done. It will be done. The history of the human race has been a struggle. A struggle for the removal of the physical & spiritual oppression that exists among so many of us. I feel I would have failed had I not made a contribution to that struggle. I'll always be glad I did" (from the closing statements of Ray Levasseur).

For More Info; *The Sedition Committee*, PO Box 1418 Cathedral stn, New York, NY 10025 USA.

The broadsheet "Ohio 7: On Trial", from the Toronto Anarchist Black Cross, PO Box 6326 Stn A, Toronto Ont. M5W 1P7 Canada.

*Resistance*, issues 6-9, communiques of UFF actions, c/o FOD, PO Box 790 Stn A, vancouver BC, V6C 2N6 Canada.



# W. GERMANY; §129a "ANTI-TERRORIST" LAW

Where there is resistance there is repression. The modern technique the state uses to silence this resistance is by 'criminalising' any revolutionary movement. The following article is an introduction to Article 129a, a law in use in W. Germany. The characteristics of the law aren't particular to W. Germany, but are found in many 'democracies' such as Holland, Italy, N. Ireland, & many more. In the US, Seditious Conspiracy & RICO have been used against revolutionaries such as the Puerto Rican Independence movement, & more recently the Ohio 7, which resulted in a defeat for the state. If resistance in Canada reaches a higher level, similar reactions by the Canadian state can be realistically expected. In 1983 during the investigation into the Direct Action bombings, Seditious Libel was used as a pretext for raids on activists houses, activists who had engaged their solidarity with the actions. It is with this in mind; the determination on our part that the level of revolutionary resistance is indeed raised in Canada, that we reprint the following article from Ekomedie Hamburg, W. Germany, dated Nov/89.

Official news blackouts or self-imposed censorship has become a customary image in the W. German media. We as producers & distributors & producers of counter-information, are & will continue to be affected directly or indirectly, & therefore wish to examine once again article 129/129a & its consequences.

Furthermore, we want to create the foundations necessary for open discussion. We want to work against the intimidation and fear created by the vague 129/129a, & because our feelings of solidarity with one another, & all those against the states arsenal of oppressive measures

## More than 100 Years Ago...

§129a was entered into the Reichs penal code, next to other articles for the "protection of the state". At the same time its advocates explained that it was directed completely against "normal organised criminals". However, together with the 'Socialist codes' especially the law against that/those "dangerous to the public efforts of the social democracy" (1878), the legal foundation was created for not only the criminalisation of the political opposition but also for the oppression of simply the discussion of "elements hostile to the state". In this way, the entire participants of the 1888 socialist congress in Copenhagen was sentenced by the Reichs Court. §129a was also carried over into the Weimar constitution, & during this time was used, above all, to persecute the KPD (Communist Party of Germany) which had recently been banned.

The practically boundless expansion of the term "enemy of the state" permitted an unrestrained use of the penal article against opposition political opinion; publishers, distributors, reporters, authors, & printers of communist publications, & also bookstores were penalised for "high literary treason".

The prisoners aid association *Rote Hilfe* (Red Aid) was declared an association hostile to the state, & its members persecuted, their public meetings outlawed. In the new 1951 "law for the defense of the state", the article was worsened. Firstly, the support of a "criminal organisation" was made a punishable offense.



"support" is, as defined by the BGH (German Supreme Court): "perpetration of independent assistance" ie that actions that in themselves are entirely legal, can be prosecuted under §129 as solidarity with members of illegal organisations, like in 1954, when members of the KPD were prosecuted simply because they were ready to accept applications for the 1954 second pentacostal meeting of the FDJ (KPD youth organisation). This was enough to convict them of a plot to support the readiness to be active for the "propaganda" for an illegal organisation.

After the smashing of the KPD in 1956, article 129 was robbed of its original purpose, ie the persecution of the communists.

## And then...

With the new organisations & structures in the left at the end of the '60s, brought on by conflicts with authority & hierarchy, §129 gained a new meaning, in that it could be used against those parts of the resistance that were not to be satisfied or integrated. Harrasment thru criminalisation became more & more frequent. Also, its broad possibilities for interpretation made it the ideal tool to compensate for the often catastrophic lack of evidence in the criminal proceedings just beginning against the armed anti-imperialist movement.

In 1976, in a phase of the widespread "terrorist" hype, which had been brought to a head by the middle-class press, §129a was created. Its contents hardly differed from §129 except that the word "criminal" was replaced by "terrorist", in order to include political aims & content, & also to defame politically motivated actions as indiscriminate activism. The term "terrorist" made it possible to justify every measure in order to wipe out political opponents (ie torture through the "white torture" of solitary confinement etc.). Solicitation for a "terrorist organisation" was added to "support & membership" as a punishable offense. "Solicitation" as defined by §129a does not just mean the solicitation of members, but also propaganda for the solicitation of sympathisers (Rebmann, Sept. 1976 (att. General)).

This interpretation, among other things, was aimed at hindering the bringing of attack communiques & writings into the open thru the media. In this way, 4 printers were sentenced to 12 months in prison in 1979 for the distribution of a paper (*Info-Bug*), which contained statements by the RAF (Red Army Fraction) & the RZ (Revolutionary Cells). Furthermore, there have been proceedings against the lawyers & relatives of prisoners, because of their criticism of prison conditions, or because they have made prisoners statements public. Just the spraypainting of the letters RAF has been enough for months long detention. Distributors of leaflets during the 1981 hunger-strike (of the RAF) were sentenced to 1½ years without parole.

In the meantime, newly developing activities such as squatting as a protest against the Startbahn-West (NATO runway project in Frankfurt), initiatives against weapons transports, Wendland, Wackersdorf, & Brockdorf (Nuclear power plants) among other activities moved into the realm of interest for the "defenders of the state" - just like everywhere that resistance radicalised & militants found a broad base of support.

The states answer to this was, at the end of 86 & beginning of 87, a renewed extension of §129a, with the addition of things like "dangerous interference of rail, naval & air traffic... disruption of public works... destruction of important resources for manufacturing". Now actions such as the felling of electrical towers of railroad blockades were no longer punished as property damage, but as "terrorist acts", thereby the state had created simultaneously preventative methods against strike actions & blockades. For example, blockades aimed at disruption of plant delivery routes.

Now a river of preliminary proceedings under §129a were brought forward, however they led to few convictions (between 1982-85 94% of the political proceedings led to acquittals), thus §129a meant more to have a divisive & intimidating effect. Along with the already mentioned uses, it was especially intended to have a preventative effect. Its goal is to inwardly move the repression before the authorities have to get involved at all, self-censorship should take place. The discussion of the aims & meaning of armed struggle & militant actions is meant to be hindered. It is an attempt to make meaningful discussion in the form of meetings & publications within the left impossible. Exactly those papers, brochures, & books that make these discussions their main topic have been attacked.

## In the Meantime...

Some more examples of assaults against us here in Hamburg, as well as the criminalisation & proceedings against those that are alleged to have something to do with *Sabot*, an information group. These attacks have been brought against "the unknown authors, producers, & distributors". These attacks were aimed at them, & last but not least *Sabot* itself, in order to hit our communication structures, & to divide us. It



attempts to force us to exercise self-censorship, & attempts to force us to distance ourselves from certain publications. This non-publication is meant to lead to the destruction of our solidarity.

The third level of their attack is the criminalisation that affects our bookstores & printers. Over & over the repression leads to police searches, & seizure of that which comes under their censorship index (books, papers, magazines, flyers).

In connection with *Sabot*, there have been proceedings against individuals responsible for bookstores; the Wimmins Bookstore in the Bismarkstrasse was searched, as well as a womyns private apartment. There were two house searches at Fritz Storims apartment, who has now been sentenced. The bookstores Gegwind & Schwarzmart were likewise searched, & there are proceedings against the bookstores Osterstrasse & Cafe und Buch.

In order to reach a comprehensive conclusion of what all this means, the proceedings & trials need to be analysed. The criminalisation always creates new opportunities for repression that we are constantly confronted with. *Sabot* is only one of the materials targetted for repression.

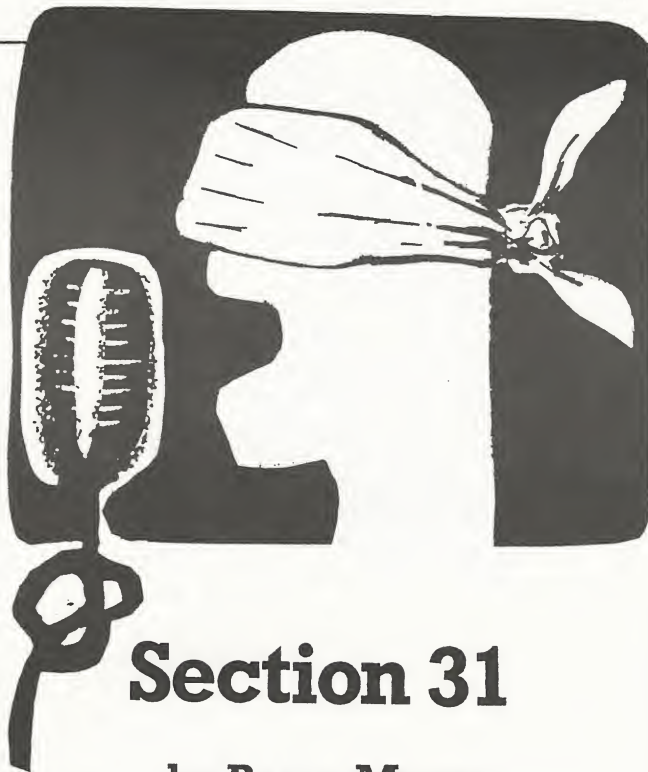
Around 87/88, the terms "topics relevant to attacks" was brought into play. These topics include all areas for which attacks have occurred, or could occur (refugee politics, anti-gene technology, anti-sex tourism, to name a few). Thereby, simply the preoccupation with these topics places one in the position of "possible perpetrator".

### And Now...

§129a is being put into action against the left media as a censorship law. Because this "censorship" of publications hostile to the state has not taken place, the production & distribution of this literature is therefore claimed to be "propoganda for the enticement of sympathisers", and has been made punishable. §129a is so broadly & unclearly written, that it allows itself to be used as a unlimited tool for censorship against every bit of unwanted material. Yesterday the distributors of communiques from armed resistance groups were persecuted, & today the publication of any "topics relevant to attacks" is penalised. Because of this, all those who critically discuss the state or society are going to be confronted with §129a. More & more the censors will catch hold of how those affected censor themselves due to §129a, ie the non-exercising of the right to bring *totally into the open*, the truths needing to be written, published & distributed.

We are saying that in the future, all the topics that we find important & their related contents, *will be brought into the open by all means available to us!!!* We won't allow ourselves to be criminalised without a fight, or let them force us into some sort of illegal status! ★

↑ GRAPHIC FROM IRIS, THE REPUBLICAN MAGAZINE, 51/55 Falls Rd. Belfast.



## Section 31

by Barry Moore

Chorus:

Section 31 on the TV  
Section 31 on the radio  
Section 31 is a blindfold  
Section 31 makes me feel cold

Who are they to decide what we should hear?  
Who are they to decide what we should see?  
What do they think we cannot comprehend?  
Why do they fear what our reaction might be?

Chorus:

The pounding of the footsteps in the early morning light  
Another family woken by an awful deadly fright  
There's a body on the pavement with a bullet through the jaw  
There's a 13-year-old victim of plastic bullet law

Chorus:

The silence in my ears, the darkness in my eyes  
Heightens the fears and deafens the cries  
Of another brother taken in another act of hate  
A family preparing for another awful wait

Chorus:

Who are they to decide what we should hear?  
Who are they to decide what we should see?  
What do they think we cannot comprehend?  
Why do they fear what our reaction might be?

THE appalling censorship contained in Section 31 of the Free State's Broadcasting Act, which forbids the transmission on TV and radio of interviews with or statements from representatives of Sinn Fein or the IRA, was highlighted once again recently during the Westminster elections.

While all the other political parties involved, including the Official Unionists and DUP who are

strident in their support for British violence, were allowed to present their views unhindered, the republican position was left unrepresented or else given a token mention by those who are hostile to it. Along with Sinn Fein's 30 Free State councillors and its other Northern Assembly and council elected representatives, Westminster MP Gerry Adams has continued to be denied access to RTE since his election.



# AGAINST IMPERIALISM: INTERNATIONAL

## A Discussion on Anti-Imperialism, National Liberation Struggles, & Extending Social Struggles to an International Level of Resistance

"It is our opinion that our failing to have any significant presence in the reality of present day struggles is largely due to complacency & lack of up to date analysis of problems in an increasingly complex social structure" (Bratach Dubh collective, intro. to *Anarchism & the National Liberation Struggle*, by Alfredo Bonanno)

The following article was part of a discussion on *International Solidarity & Revolutionary Resistance* presented at the *Regional Anarchist Gathering* held in Jan. 26-29/90 in Vancouver, Canada.

The first half of this article is a brief introduction to the historical development of imperialism, including the rise to dominance of US capital in the global economic order. The second half discusses national liberation struggles, their contradictions & limitations, & an anarchist perspective to these struggles. It certainly isn't definitive or total, but we hope it provides a starting point for discussion. A lot hasn't been analysed, such as the present global economic thrust towards mobility in production, significant changes in capitalist production (ie. technology, flexibility), & the relationship between these factors & the class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries corresponding with the national liberation struggles. It is beyond the scope of this article to fully address these, nevertheless, if anarchist or autonomist struggles are to have any impact, a complete re-assessment of our analysis & methods is necessary. Developing this means addressing ourselves to an analysis against capital- something which this article also mentions.

Anarchists tend to reduce anarchism to mere anti-statism or opposition to authority, a superficial & all encompassing "anti-authoritarian blanket" draped over all social struggles. Instead of extending an analysis to patriarchal & capitalist exploitation, which by its nature demands an international struggle, anarchists have restricted their perspective (if at all) to the most blatant products of this; sometimes in the "life-stylist" approach by boycotting multinationals, at other times in the pursuit of "alternative economic communities". Capitalism is acknowledged, but only as some kind of background setting with no specific structures or conditions. When the Economic Summit of the G-7 (the seven leading industrial countries consisting of the US, Canada, Japan, W. Germany, Britain, France & Italy) was held in Toronto in June /88, the movements lack of anti-capitalist analysis was clear; "Protesting the 7 leaders is somewhat of a red herring, seeing as it's not just these 7 who are the problem, but all leaders & capitalism itself" (from *Ecomedia Toronto*, our emphasis). In this, the world economic order, dominated primarily by US capitalism, & its structures the IMF & World Bank, in which the G7 maintain dominant positions, is reduced to a problem of "leaders" & "capitalism" remains as something lurking in the background. The article continues on, making the point of resistance a question of *who controls the streets* rather than one of *who maintains the levels of exploitation*; "But many anarchists came out to support the days actions because the issue turned from one of protesting the leaders to... reclaiming the streets of our city, which have been blocked off for us for the length of the Summit".

This is a reflection of the fact that most anarchists don't see various social struggles (ecological, anti-sexism, anti-racism) as having a basis in class struggle. But this isn't to say that these social struggles are irrelevant or secondary to the class struggle, as some marxists (as well as some anarchists) do, but rather the opposite; these social struggles *make up the basis of the class struggle*. In the minds of those who relegate these social struggles to a secondary position it's commonly argued that capital *created* racism, sexism etc. as a tool to divide the class. But such a simplistic analysis ignores the patriarchal & racist ideological basis that makes up the domination & expansion of capitalism. Today, capitalism shapes & effects our cultural & social relationships like no other social structure has. Anti-capitalism is not only an economic struggle, but is also a cultural struggle.

For most anarchists, the logical conclusion of an international class struggle against international exploitation, imperialism, is not seen. A primary component of resistance to imperialism has been the national liberation struggle. The anarchist response has been silence, reluctance, or out right hostility to these movements. We think there is another approach, one of intervention & solidarity.

### DEVELOPMENT OF IMPERIALISM 1800-1900

Between 1800 - 1900, the full division of the world amongst the major European and American powers was completed. From this point on, only the re-division of the world was possible. During this period, Great Britain acquired 3,700,000 sq. miles with 57 million inhabitants. France acquired 3,600,000 sq. miles with 14,700,000 inhabitants, and so on (from Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* where he quoted economist J.A. Hobson).

For nations which had a level of independence after fighting colonial wars, the metropolises were already developing new forms of colonialism in the forms of debts and dependence. In the 1820s, English banks lent a total of £21 million to former Spanish colonies (Chile, Argentina, Peru, Mexico, and Guatemala). The loans were directed towards developing export infrastructures: roads, railways, and ports, specifically from the mining and agricultural industries. The traditional agriculture was destroyed and replaced by monocultures, "cash crops", grown for export. The export of raw materials was essential for the industrialization process of the metropolises, England, France, Spain, etc. With the debts, it was also a way of ensuring dependency, through the import of technology and machinery necessary for large-scale export, the increase in loans for these projects, and loans to maintain a balance-of-payment on the debt.

This then, is the basis of the economic control of the "Third World", & the mass poverty & super-exploitation gripping the people in the Three continents today; the peripheral countries provide agricultural & mineral raw materials for the imperialist centres, at the same time serving as sales markets for the manufactured goods produced in the metropolises, & as spheres of investment for their surplus capital.

### WORLD WAR II: THE AMERICAN CENTURY

The Second World War marked a substantial change for world imperialism, & out of it the US was to emerge as the dominant player.

The US ruling class entered the war with a clear idea of what it wanted. Competing imperialist nations would be dismantled & made dependent on US capital. Britain, Japan, Germany & France were exhausted & almost non-functioning economies from the war, & they would be reduced to junior partners. An important part of this was the *Marshall Plan*, in which the US gave or lent to W. Europe & Japan \$17 billion between 1947-55. This allowed the US to control post-war re-building along capitalist lines & to expand foreign investment by US multinationals. Alongside this, the US prepared plans for a new *world trade & monetary order* to prevent a world economic crisis as in the 1920's & to further develop the expansion of US capitalism. The IMF & World Bank were important steps in this direction. For obvious political reasons, the USSR & its satellites were excluded. In fact the USSR was to be seen as *the major threat* to US interests, even though as a result of the war it wasn't in a realistic position to do this. Nevertheless, the US quickly began consolidating itself against this "spread of communism". Military & economic blocs, dependent on the US, were created to contain & encircle the USSR & its European satellites. These came in the form of NATO in 1949. SEATO in 1954. & ANZUS.





Protest in solidarity with El Salvador, Vancouver, 1989.

This was to be the "American Century"! But the post-second world war expansion was to last only 3 decades. The pattern of economic growth came to an end in '73-74. The investment boom making up for war-time losses & shortages, & capitalizing on new industries (electronics, jet aircraft etc) had run its course with nothing comparable to take its place as a force of driving the capitalist accumulation process (Paul M. Sweezy, *US Imperialism in the 90s*). The interpenetration of the US market by W. European & Japanese manufactured goods forced the US to shift many of its manufacturing industries to the Asian market, where costs were low. The formerly dependent powers in W. Europe & Japan were in the process of breaking out of their dependence on the US (Already new developments are occurring, with the possibility of the creation of 3 competing blocs; the US & its dependents, the USSR & its dependents, & the European Economic Community, which in 1992 will abolish trade barriers within its borders. The Free Trade Agreement between the US & Canada is an integral part of this development. US imperialism can be said to be declining as a dominant world power).

Contributing to this decline of the US were revolutionary movements within the US itself & the development of national liberation movements. During this period a "record number of defections" from Western imperialism occurred; Ethiopia in 74, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, leading up to Grenada, Nicaragua, & Iran in 79, & Zimbabwe in 1980. These liberation movements had their roots in the struggles between 1954-75. During this period, 17 British colonies in Africa alone achieved nominal independence, the French followed ceding independence to 19 of its 20 African colonies. But upon independence, political power was merely transferred from colonial gov't.s to local bourgeoisies. In this way, the metropolises were able to maintain influence & control.

But this "formal break" with colonialism was only a prelude to revolutionary struggles in the form of national liberation movements. A primary characteristic of these were the nationalisation of industries & resour-

ces, the "ideology of nationalization" (Julio Rosado, "Behind the US Economic Decline" *Breakthrough* vol. x11 no. 1, Summer 88).

## THE USSR & NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES

It is without doubt that conditions for national liberation movements would be much more extreme without the aid of the USSR. The existence of this competing bloc has in ways reduced the movements of the western bloc. But this should be seen as the result of the USSR's own interests. Under the rhetoric of "socialist internationalism", the USSR has given aid according to its own geostrategic interests & designs. "... the Eastern bloc is a black stain in the political geography of leftism... it is more according to their geostrategic interests & the priority given to the consolidation of their own existence that the external policies of the Soviet Union are decided. The aspiration to be "recognised" & to have the equivalent of imperialism & not the aspiration of World Revolution is the red thread that runs through all of their world politics" (Revolutionary Cells/Red Zora Discussion Paper on the Peace Movement 1984). Afghanistan shows that the USSR, like the US, is prepared to defend these interests using violence in the form of armed intervention, napalm, & chemical weapons. Even with this however, the USSR cannot be placed on an equal level as that of the US. The USSR's expansion is based on need, not on a surplus, & in this way is incapable of developing a strong dependence. "In the face of imperialism the Soviet Union has the disadvantage that its expansion is based on need & not on surplus. They cannot rely on the "gentle" violence of a mode of production, waiting for it, as a result of its inherent expansive logic, to build a durable dependence (RZ/RZ Discussion paper). In the age of *perestroika*, the East bloc shows its own integration into western capital in the form of its massive debts to western banks, the IMF & World Bank. Even today, the Deutsche Bank opens up offices within the East bloc.



## THE LIMITATIONS & CONTRADICTIONS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES

Today, the consolidation of national liberation & self-determination is an unrealistic goal. In these isolated struggles, one nation merely moves from one capitalist bloc to another, unable to determine its own economic direction. Because of this, many anarchists & marxists define the FMLN in El Salvador as the "left-wing of capitals political apparatus", while the US-backed regime is the "right-wing". In a candid interview, Francisco Jovel of the 5 member FMLN General Command flatly stated "We are not talking about installing a socialist regime. This is a product of our analysis of national & international reality" (*NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. xxiii no. 3 Sept. 89). Eduardo Sancho, another member of the General Command, describes the FMLN's proposed "Gov't. of Broad Participation", the "pluralistic democracy" which is the basis of the FMLN's proposals, as being "from an ideological & economic point of view, nothing more than (a program for) the development of capitalism in El Salvador... We first have to develop our minimal program.. then later bases to construct socialism, & then later communism-which we think will develop in this country around the year 3,000" (talk about long-range development plans! From *NACLA, Report on the Americas* Sept. 89). Obviously, the FMLN is the "left-wing" of capital, but this reformist view of socialism is only a reflection of the reality that self-determination isn't possible in national liberation. Increasingly, it becomes clear that the consolidation of social liberation, the breakout of national liberation, & the extending of the insurrection in the periphery is directly related to our own revolutionary struggles here & now, in the centres. This is the basis of *Internationalism*; "If Internationalism is not to be merely meaningless rhetoric, it must imply solidarity between the proletariat of different countries or nations. This is a concrete term. When there is a revolution, it will be as it has been in the past, in a precise geographical area. How much it remains there will be directly linked to the extent of that Internationalism, both in terms of solidarity & the spreading of the revolution itself" (Jean Weir, intro to *Anarchism & the National Liberation Struggle*).

In the absence of this Internationalism, the success of a Cuba (altho the continued repression including that against the anarchists is well known) in the eradication of mass hunger & extreme hunger, providing healthcare & schooling, takes on a new level of attractiveness for the people still fighting for these necessities. In this way, the "left-wing of capitalism", & its' accompanying condemnation, becomes little more than political posturing, *true as it is*. The total rejection of the FMLN as the left-wing ignores the context of *what they are fighting for and what they must fight against*.

Of course, there are countless other criticisms of national liberation fronts & struggles; that, as in Cambodia, there is the possibility of disastrous outcome or that they are mostly dominated by Marxist-Leninist positions. Perhaps we could let *Insurrection* no.4 May 88; "One could reply to the first that there is no such situation as one that can guarantee a revolutionary or progressive outcome in advance, but rather that such an outcome would be more probable in the presence of the anarchists & their struggle." As for the blinding neo-McCarthyism, the same article goes on to say; "... the relationship between Marxism & the National liberation struggle is purely instrumental. That is, the people in struggle have adopted... certain Marxist elements as they have nothing else at their disposition. And is this no the fault of the anarchists?" This also reflects the fact that anarchism, while addressing themselves to all sorts of social & cultural struggles, have recently failed to offer any kind of attack on capitalism's economic exploitation. Is it no wonder that the most economically and socially oppressed peoples have always been areas where Marxists or Marxist-Leninists have been able to make inroads?

National liberation fronts, as vehicles for achieving political & economic independence, contain contradictions in their very content, & these clearly lead to their limitations. These fronts generally encompass all people who are part of the specific ethnic group that is engaged in struggle. Thus for the ETA or native peoples in Canada, it becomes a question of the "liberation of the Basques" or the liberation of native peoples, rather



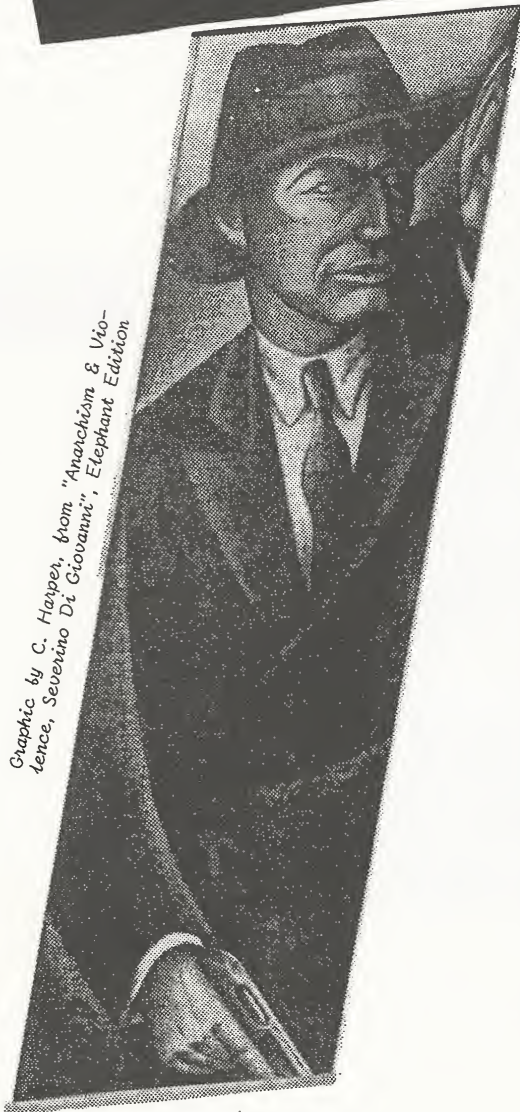
than one of specifically class struggle. Writing on this in the magazine *No Middle Ground* (no. 3-4/85), K. Sorel, in reference to the FSLN in Nicaragua, wrote; "From its very beginnings in the 1960's the FSLN had emphasized multi-class co-operation against the regime & that the Patriotic middle-classes would play a central role..." and that the "Sandinista regime (after overthrowing Somoza) quickly demonstrated its class nature by inviting leading businessmen Alfonso Robelo & Arturo Cruz into top positions of the new gov't. At the Managua labor seminar of the state-controlled labor union, the *Sandinista Workers Central*, Commander Carlos Nunez declared that it was "important to distinguish between those members of the bourgeoisie who are still influenced by imperialism & those who had been victims of the dictatorship because the latter are individuals the FSLN wants to attract & consolidate into the revolution" (Sorel quoted *Barricada* Sept. 25/79).

Expanding on this narrow view of ethnic culture, *Fronte Libertaire* wrote; "Ethnic culture is not that of all who are born or live in the same territory & speak the same language. It is the culture of those who, in a given group, suffer the same exploitation. Ethnic culture is class culture, & for this reason is revolutionary culture" (quoted from *Anarchism & the National Lib. Struggle*). In this way, the diversity of the "front" begins to contradict what should be the logical base of its struggle; anti-capitalism. "National lib. movements are capitalist multi-class coalitions in which the proletarians of the Third World do the fighting & dying..." (*No Middle Ground* no. 3-4). If anti-imperialist resistance (here or there) doesn't expand beyond this, if it is in opposition to imperialism *only*, then it too begins to develop its own contradictions & can in fact become a reformist struggle. As Alfredo Bonanno writes "The enemy is he who exploits, organising production & distribution in a capitalist dimension, even if this exploiter then calls us compatriot, party comrade, or whatever other pleasing epithet... Unity with the internal exploiters is impossible, because no unity is possible between the class of workers & the class of exploiters".



THE RIGHT TO LIFE ISN'T  
BEGGED FOR: IT IS TAKEN!

## The Case of Bonanno & Stasi & An Attempted Expropriation in Italy....



Graphic by C. Harper, from "Anarchism & Violence, Severino Di Giovanni", Elephant Edition

For all our talk of International Solidarity, there has been one glowing example of a case in which we've been too silent; that of Alfredo M. Bonanno & Pippo Stasi, two Italian anarchists arrested on Feb. 2/89 for an attempted robbery. In Oct./89 the two were sentenced, Bonanno to 5½ years & Stasi to 4 years 8 months. Their appeal has been set for March 1990.

The two were arrested during an attempted robbery of a jewellers shop in the Italian town of Bergamo. After a few hours of the regular police hospitality, the two were charged with armed robbery & assault, and, after their identities were discovered & that they were anarchists, the two were informed they would be "fit up" with some unsolved robberies, one of which included a murder. This frame-up would consist of charging the two with an April 7/87 robbery & resulting murder, & another on March 9/85, both in Bergamo. But against this legal facade, the two declared they had attempted the robbery "exclusively for personal reasons..." & because they "didn't have jobs & needed the money". From the immediate outset the two anarchists placed their attempted expropriation firmly into the context of the broader social clash, & that they considered the redistribution of wealth in a society based on social & economic inequality to be a practise concurrent with revolutionary struggle. From the very beginning the two made no attempt to deny their attempted expropriation, & refused any defense committees or legal manoeuvres moving the situation from one of a "guilty or innocent" question to that of being part of a much broader class struggle.

Accompanying the threatened police frame-up was the usual attempt to paint the anarchists as "terrorists". This began with the bourgeois media faithfully reproducing the inuendo put forward by the kops; charges of terrorism & hinting that the two belonged to the "gotha of Italian terrorism". To the attempted frame-up, Bonanno & Stasi denied any involvement in the unsolved robberies dragged up from the police archives of unsolved "crimes". Comrades in Italy & internationally organised demo.s, pickets, leaflets & actions in solidarity with the two, demanding their release & showing that two were not isolated, or that the legal farce would have resistance. No doubt all this was a contributing factor so that during the October trial, the frame-up charges weren't introduced. However, adding to the "terrorist angle" that had been presented, kops carried out raids on anarchist houses & offices throughout Italy, the most recent of which was in Dec. 5/89.

Both Bonanno & Stasi have been involved in the revolutionary movement for a number of years, contributing theoretically to the *Anarchismo* and *Provocazione* papers in Italy, & the paper *Insurrection* in England, & practically to the struggle by their involvement in various areas of conflict. Stasi was particularly well-known in Palermo, where he was involved in the anti-nuclear & anti-militarist struggles & as a member of the *Palermo Anarchist Group*. Bonanno was known for his longtime involvement & especially his contributions to the development of a coherent revolution-

ary practise, an example of which can be seen in his book *From Riot to Insurrection* (published by *Elephant Editions* in London), & a number of other pamphlets & essays. It was these writings which led to his being arrested & persecuted in the past; "Instigation to revolt", "condoning criminal offenses" etc.

To portray this incident as one of a robbery plain & simple would be to ignore the context that Bonanno & Stasi themselves placed the action in, & it would be an ignorant negation of the revolutionary practise of our own history. But in fact, this has already been done by some anarchists! Bonanno was aware of this tendency, & wrote, in the introduction to *Anarchism & Violence*, *Severino Di Giovanni in Argentina* that "there have always been comrades who include the methods of direct action, armed struggle, & expropriation in the struggle against exploitation. On the other hand there have always been those who are against these methods, in favour of propaganda & libertarian educationism alone". There has indeed been some confusion from various corners of the anarchist movement, causing them to view the expropriation as an actual "crime", their conclusions being that theft & robbery are not part of revolutionary struggle. Expropriation happens every minute of everyday in every store & boutique in the world.

Shoplifting, welfare frauds, cheque frauds, fencing, robbery, food riots, these have always been methods by which the exploited class have attempted to take that which is denied them by capital. It is a method of survival that sometimes takes on repressive means (too much force, gangs, syndicates, sometimes the poor are mistakenly robbed etc.) but in general it is a natural reaction to the vast economic exploitation inherent in the capitalist society. In short it is taking back the wealth stolen by the capitalists who use more "sophisticated" methods.

In this way, the logic of the legal apparatus is exposed and we can see clearly why expropriation carried out by the proletariat is "illegal", & the everyday robbery that occurs in the workplaces, in the wage-slave logic, is "legal" & seen as a good thing. And we can see clearly in whose interests the laws are designed to protect. Against this, like a brick against a bank window, Bonanno & Stasi re-affirm the revolutionary practise of expropriation, shattering the social peace that accommodates the everyday robbery of the factories, mills, etc. It was in this same way that anarchists struck in the 1920's & '30's; Durruti, Ascaso, Sabate, Roscigna, & Di Giovanni, expropriating large amounts of money which was put into building resistance, purchasing weapons, explosives & for publishing magazines & books, in the case of Di Giovanni, it was his fortnightly *Culmine*.

"Legal" or "illegal", these are questions posed by capitals judicial apparatus. An apparatus prefigured to benefit a certain class. For us, there can only be total solidarity with the two militants, Bonanno & Stasi. ★

"The right to life isn't begged for, it is taken". Alex Jacob, France 1905.



# "LET'S STOP THE CONGRESS!!!"

West Berlin Autonomous  
Groups Days of Action  
Against the IMF & World  
Bank, 1988.



† GRAPHIC: NEW INTERNATIONALIST.

From Sept. 27-30/88 the International Monetary Fund & the World Bank held their annual congress in W. Berlin. To counter this, W. Berlin Autonomous groups planned a week of actions. Although it is now over a year since the congress, which saw thousands of radicals & other protesters take to the streets in mass demonstrations & many actions (for a list of these actions see ES #9), the document re-printed below puts forward an anti-capitalist analysis of not just the IMF & WB's role, but of the patriarchal & imperialist dimensions of the international exploitation of people that is still true today. Nothing much has changed in the arena of global capital. The first section is an introduction, & the following sections are summaries of each day of action, which have specific themes. The strength of this document is its ability to translate what may at first seem like abstractions, & place them clearly into our everyday existence. Translated by a W. German comrade.

The Days of Action will take place in W. Berlin from 26.9 to 29.9/88 parallel to the IMF & WB. In Sept. they will all be coming here; the finance bosses from the capitalist centres of Tokyo, Frankfurt & New York; bank

managers from Chase Manhattan to Deutsche Bank; the people who commit murders sitting at desks in the nerve centres of the multinationals Toyota, Lockheed, Siemens; the speculators from the computer terminals of international currency dealing. On top of that, experts, journalists, ministers, secretaries of state, & their guards, more than 14,000 altogether.

The situation we have is clear; those responsible for hunger, exploitation, wars & terror throughout the world are coming to this "capital of the free world". Our motto is; *Let's Stop the Congress!*

But who are the IMF & WB? What purpose do they serve in the capitalist system? How did they develop historically? After World War 2, the IMF & WB came into being within the frame work of the new order of the capitalist world economic system at the Bretton Woods conference in 1944, as instruments of capitalist world rule. It was, & is, all about transposing onto a world scale the policies that the nazis had practised beforehand; development through extermination. The revolut-





ionary struggles in Europe (especially south & south-eastern Europe), in the US & in the Three continents make up the background to the rise of the IMF & WB. These struggles forced the newly rising imperialist world order, with the US now firmly in its centre, to begin a step-by-step decolonisation of the Three continents & the establishment of dependent economic zones in Europe & Japan. This system finally came into crisis at the end of the '50s. This was caused by the anti-colonialist struggles & liberation movements & by the collapse of the industrialisation plans in the furthest developed countries of Latin America & Asia.

The answer to this was the "Decade of Development" proclaimed by the UNO in 1961, with the *Green Revolution* as an essential component. For the tricontinental masses, this meant the destruction of their subsistence structures, the expulsion of the so called surplus rural population into the slums of the newly rising industrial centres. This was simultaneously the start of a new realisation of patriarchal violence through the imposition of the money economy. An integral part of the development decade was WB credits, which financed mainly infrastructural requirements for the penetration of the tricontinental economies (road-building, dams, railways). But towards the end of the '60s there was a series of revolts in the periphery as well as in the metropolises. These struggles led directly to the crisis of the '70s.

Capital's answer was a frontal attack on the class world-wide; rises in the price of wheat, & wheat shortages, oil price rises & increased dollar inflation. The calculated result was millions of death caused by hunger in the periphery, shifting of "unproductive industries" from the metropolises to the periphery (lower wages) & mass unemployment & reductions in real wages in the metropolises. With a background of massive awards of credit, which fed on the international finance markets that were swollen by surplus petro- & Euro-dollars, the so-called "stabilisation policies" of the IMF came more into the foreground. Basically the programmes mean a dismantling of "unproductive" expenditure (food subsidies etc.) & the restructuring of the tricontinental national economies as suppliers for the multinational corporations.

But this development concept was broken to pieces by the end of the 70s, by the resistance that exploded worldwide, & which reached a peak in the Nicaraguan revolution.

The second oil crisis, staged by capital in 1979, was the springboard into the "expensive dollar" policy. The tricontinental debts are raised in value by the rise in interest rates, the so-called debt crisis follows from that. The main organisers of this debt crisis are the IMF & WB. *The size of the debts should not however, distract our attention from what is really the main thrust of the capitalist attack; securing profit for capital through co-ordinated programmes of annihilation & exploitation.* The high interest rates on the international finance markets finally blocked the credit awards in those areas with an expected profit rate below the interest rate. In addition, capital created for itself an essential instrument for carrying through its world social policies using the IMF policies regarding conditions of repayment. Whether people have something to eat, under what conditions they have to work, whether they face compulsory sterilisation, or are allowed to die of hunger, is almost completely beyond the scope of decisions made by national governments, be they military dictatorships, national bourgeoisies or former liberation movements. The results of these world social policies are similar everywhere. Millions of people are deprived of the basis of their subsistence & driven out of their communities. Women are in the centre of this attack. Mass sterilisation & the "extermination through work" that really goes on in the factories & brothels that serve the world market are just the tip of the iceberg of patriarchal exploitation in the 80s. This concept does not proceed without friction. It is women who are more & more active in the social revolts in the Three continents today.

Here in the metropolises, the IMF policies are also becoming clear to see. With the help of the policy of high interest rates, income is lowered here too, & new conditions of exploitation are forced onto the class (flexible working hours, part-time work, compulsory

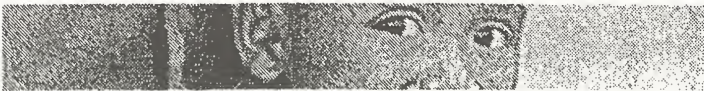
redundancy, forced work, cuts in all areas of the welfare state, tax reform etc.).

Our motto is: *Let's Stop the Congress!* We have said earlier that our slogan "is a step towards the concentration of our forces here". We have let a lot of chances to get a bit nearer to this goal slip by. But stopping the congress still means to us; "clearly showing them; it won't be a prestigious meeting for the rich & powerful, but a demonstration of world-wide resistance". It is important to us that this slogan is understood as a common objective of the radical left, even if it means we are accused of an inability to reach consensus and of over-estimating our own strength.

We can only take the right steps if we are not going in the wrong direction. The call for debt cancellation may mean a temporary breathing space for the dependent countries, but new mechanisms will replace the old ones. In the long term, nothing changes. The recent defensive statements by bankers and statesmen on debt repayments rather seem to show that a part cancellation of debts or more favorable terms of repayment are quite compatible with continuing IMF and WB policies. The massive resistance worldwide is forcing the system to reform itself and to choose its methods more subtly in order to be able to go on working efficiently without being too quickly identified as a murder machine.

During the congress they will try to break all forms of protest - let alone resistance - with intensified repression. But we won't allow ourselves to be forced back into the peace of our homes. We will not take on the function of a figleaf for this system (making it more credible) by romping on the oppositional playing field before the congress, and afterward letting the honorable gentlemen stage their show undisturbed, their demonstration of power over our heads and streets.

A broad spectrum of groups is organizing a "counter congress" and mass demonstration before the congress starts. The analyses that are to be proposed to the "counter congress" are intended as a critique of the "worst excesses" of the IMF and WB policies, the aim is to reform these institutions. The demands are: immediate debt-cancellation and a just world economic order. A reform of the institutions can succeed, for the purposes of modernization and adaption to changed conditions, but it changes nothing in the character of its long term policies. This spectrum supports social movements including armed liberation movements in the three continents, but it does not concern itself with attacks on capital in the metropolises. The struggles of the peoples of the three continents are seen as reformist. The need to attack the system in its metropolises and fight for the liberation of the three continents in that way is not seen. However, we welcome the initiative of all groups who have shown interest in the Days of Action.



**MONDAY 26.9.88 DAY OF STRUGGLE AGAINST BEING FORCED TO WORK. WOMEN'S WORK AS THE BASIS OF DOMINATION AND EXPLOITATION.**

The patriarchal capitalist system lives from the exploitation of human work. People work day after day, anytime and anywhere, and only a fraction is wage work. All unpaid labour is not viewed as work at all by capital, even though it may not only be important for our own survival, but may also be a precondition for the continued existence of domination and exploitation. So-called housework, unpaid reproduction work, is of central importance in the field of unpaid work. It is almost always done by women, mostly under the marriage-work contract, in the nuclear family. Women are to maintain or create the commodity "working power" of men, children, and themselves for capital. This includes sexuality, the birth and raising of children, work in relationships, cooking cleaning, washing clothes, going



shopping... "Housework is seen as private and personal, and above all as a service done out of love. The head of the house, the husband, is legally and ideologically given control over the money and consequently power over the wife and children. In that way the power and work relations within the family make up the basis of the gender and class division" (from the wimmin's demo). The sector in which the most paid jobs have sprung up in the recent years and - due to the especially low wages - the biggest profits have been made, is the so-called service sector, which includes paid reproduction work. The number of jobs in fast-food restaurants, brothels, peep shows, porn film production, as well as in advertising, has increased. In hospitals, old people's homes, in the whole welfare state, where budgets are constantly cut, no more jobs means even more people work for those working there. With the extension of part of this sector and the cuts in health and welfare services, as well as especially low wages, an attempt is being made to impose a cut for all parts of the dominated and exploited class.

Through the payment of a wage to a man, or higher wages for men, the patriarchal relation of violence is transplanted into the family. Wimmin's wage work appears as extra income, being worse paid. That means: across the class there runs a sexist division, a sexist hierarchy, caused by patriarchy. A division and hierarchy which subjects wimmin to a double relation of violence which in a way marks a 'second' (or first) line of confrontation. With the weapon of unemployment, millions of wimmin and men have been forcibly mobilized into insecure and low-paid jobs in the last ten years. Since the start of the 80's, capital has tried more and more

to recruit new classes of workers using "slave merchants" (temporary work agencies) and private subcontractors, using them to try and replace the regular workforce in the factories, and attack the guarantees, wages, and working conditions that they've won. Foreigners, unqualified young people, and of course wimmin are especially suitable for this.

In this way, capital could carry through a reduction in real wages against the class. Together with the reduction in real wages there is at the same time more unpaid housework to be done in the family. The proportion of permanently and full-time employed wimmin has stayed the same since 1977. (In the same period a million jobs for foreigners have been cut.) During this time there has been an increase in wimmin's jobs as a result of the increase in part-time working.

While, for example, the churches give themselves a good image by spreading and organizing unpaid voluntary work, working conditions in the health sector get worse and at the same time jobs which up to now have been paid are made into voluntary housework in the family. By cooperation with the men and women in the health sector, we can relate more exactly to the resistance and refusal and the contradictions within it, in the action we will later describe. We will take to the streets on exactly those days and will say clearly with various actions why we think the IMF and WB in their structures can not be changed by reforms, just like the system that is behind them, and whose only logic is: power for a few, and work, hunger and death for the rest.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE IMF

Shortly after the second world war, plans for a new world trade & world monetary order were prepared in the US. These plans were designed to prevent a world economic crisis such as in the 1920s, & also to develop the international expansion of US capitalism (which as a result of WWII emerged in a strong position to ensure this).

Founded by 44 countries, the IMF & World Bank are complimentary organisations; the former responsible for short term balance of payment aid, the latter for long term project related aid. Without membership in the IMF (which means integration into the capitalist system), no admission to the World Bank. Without playing by IMF rules, no development aid from the World Bank. A classic example of the carrot & stick principle.

Today, there are 151 member-countries of the IMF. The vast majority are located in the Three continents (Asia, Africa, South & Central America), yet these countries have no real influence on IMF policies. Instead, to ensure the power of the advanced industrial countries (US, Canada, Japan etc), a quota system was devised which, contrary to the usual "one vote, one country" system as in UN organisations, grants a percentage of votes according to a country's national income, gold & foreign exchange reserves, size & fluctuations of foreign trade & export dependence. The US share of the total quota is 19.9%, followed by the UK with 6.9%. Any change in quotas requires an 85% majority!

#### IMPACT OF IMF POLICIES

The main function of the IMF is to provide its members with financial aid to cover short-term gaps in their balance of payments. Essentially, it is an international organisation through which countries of the capitalist north can impose their financial & monetary interests, & sometimes other interests, on the countries of the Three continents. No-where is this clearer than in the IMF's "stabilisation programmes" which it

forces on countries as a condition of repayment. Standard parts of this are: devaluation of national currency, abolition of liberalisation of controls on foreign trade (intended to set an export boom in motion & bring in foreign exchange), wage-cuts, & cuts in social programmes (ie health, schools). There is often a marked deterioration in the supply of basic materials of the poor.

In historical colonial times, developing countries were forced to develop one-sided monocultural export structures. The colonies provided agricultural & mineral raw materials which were essential for the industrialisation process of the metropolises, often under armed force.

This basic pattern continues today, with the IMF replacing the gun-boats. This one-sided orientation towards the interests of the imperialist countries has prevented the development of food production for domestic requirements. The abolition of foreign trade controls creates an opportunity for multi-national corporations to gain access to the raw materials. The traditional agriculture of countries such as Guatemala, El Salvador, Ethiopia, etc. has been destroyed & replaced by the growing of cotton, sisal, coffee, cocoa, bananas, sugar; all for export. The ecological destruction we are seeing of the rainforests in the Three continents is directly related to the situation of imperialism. The de-forestation also produces dangers for the indigenous peoples who live in these areas. Due to land-clearing for cattle-ranching, cash-crops, mining, dams, & road building, thousands of people are displaced, their traditional livelihoods destroyed & ultimately their very cultures. With this comes intensified repression by police, army, & paramilitary forces against any resistance, from ecologists & indigenous peoples. An even more blatant example of what the IMF's function is, is seen in the "debt for exports" concept, in which export goods are traded to companies who'll take over the balance of payment debts. In 1988 Fiat sought permission to accept Brazilian debt in payment for cars.

#### POLITICS OF THE IMF

The IMF attaches great importance to its supposedly non-political character, arguing that the principle of non-discrimination ensures all countries are treated equally in the granting & conditions of loans. The IMF states it is purely economic. However, not only does it ignore the often devastating social & political impacts of its economic policies, but its practise tells another story. Chile, during the time of socialist president Allende, was refused a stand-by agreement after the country was plunged into difficulties by a US de-stabilisation program. After the military coup in 1973, the IMF quickly came to agreement with the new fascist Pinochet regime. After the Soweto Uprising, the IMF gave South Africa a loan of US\$ 464 million in 1976, a sum almost equal to the increase in military expenditure that year. In Nov. 1982 the IMF again granted S. Africa a loan totalling US\$1.1 thousand million, even though the UN General Assembly just voted 121 votes to 3 against IMF aid for Apartheid. With the help of Canada & most W. European countries, the US forced the loan through with 53% of the vote in the IMF. In 1982 El Salvador received loans which caused a sensation because of the generous terms attached; no interest rates, subsidies or changes in prices of agricultural goods. As late as May 1979, nine weeks before Somozas overthrow, the Nicaraguan regime received an IMF credit.

The forcing through of IMF stabilisation programmes has also determined the fate of many gov't.s, leading to their downfall because they implement these programmes. With remarkable frequency, IMF interventions coincide with military coups; the military take-over in Argentina in March 1976 - as in 1962 - was closely connected with negotiations for an IMF stand-by credit. The civilian gov't. couldn't force through the IMF demands because resistance was too strong. The military took advantage of the crisis & took power. It proceeded to crush popular resistance, the "dirty war" between 1976-78, & soon reached agreement with the IMF. Similar situations occurred in Brazil 1964, Chile & Uruguay 1973, Turkey in 1960, 71, & 80.





Education, and dividing us up, punishing and regulating us are forms of violence with which work discipline is imposed against the class's attitude of refusal. Compulsion to work plays an important part in prisons and special homes and in the whole penal system. On the other hand, fines are used more often as a punishment or sentences are suspended according to if you have regular work. At the same time, prisons are converted more and more into factories. Whether it's in school, in the household, in hospital, in the office or factory, in homes for the disabled or prison, everywhere we are meant to work in one way or another, we are disciplined for work and prepared for it. We are meant to get qualifications for it.

Of course, capital works internationally, our answer is internationalism. That means we won't be confused by the apparent division between abortion restrictions here and forced sterilization there, by freedom of movement within the borders of the European community and the closed borders for refugees, whose countries of origin range from Turkey to the three continents, the 14 hour days in the factories supplying the world market in the three continents and the flexibilisation of working hours here, but we will see the attack for what it is: the attempt to make profits out of us, even from our genes.

Class struggle internationalism means for us that we want to connect with everyday forms of resistance that the class has worldwide. Individual forms of refusal (taking time off "sick", not going to work, sabotage, refusing the prison of marriage, fare-dodging, rent strikes) as well as organised forms (strikes, squatting houses & land, looting, armed struggle etc.) could be starting points for class struggles. We want to continue the struggle against compulsion to work as a central weapon against domination & exploitation. The IMF & WB are just 2 out of the many instruments with which capital is trying to impose compulsion to work around the world. We want to name & politically attack other firms & institutions which daily confront us with waged & unwaged work in a public action on the first Day of Action. With the following actions we want to express in practise what has been roughly outlined in theory.

We plan a demonstration at Breitscheidplatz, where there are "slave merchants", department stores, sickness insurance companies, a church, fast food stands, porn cinemas, airlines... Here is an example of the kind of

actions planned. Airlines don't just make money from sex tourism. Pan Am also profits from forced labour in prison. Through contact with prisoners and to prison groups/newspapers we want to connect with the refusal of forced labour in prison & we want to show the connecting lines with forced labour in homes or organised by the social security. There are also connections between forced labour & compulsion to work eg. fines & suspended sentences as well as all forms of compulsory work. This can for example be expressed by prison demonstrations, actions at the social or leaflets. Through the composition of the working groups preparing the actions (temporary workers groups, womens groups, prison groups) priorities for actions are becoming clear. These are: insecure work, "slave merchants", forced work in prison, PanAm, work in the health sector, sickness insurance. Also the anti-nuclear movement is preparing for diverse actions. "On 26.9 we'll stick our nose into Siemens business in Siemens City (a district of Berlin). They are important profiteers out of the IMF & WB policies. To us, Siemens stands as an example of anti-life, patriarchal, capitalist organisation of working & living conditions. Womens work, both for wages & in the field of reproduction is the foundation & material basis for the maintenance of domination & profit. We want to put the companys strategy onto the agenda & develop practical resistance- inside & out, with the actions.

- restructuring & flexibilisation in and by Siemens (the development of "new technologies")
- working conditions here & in the three continents
- production in factories supplying the world market, womens work, temporary work
- the building of nuclear power plants/nuclear reprocessing plants & Siemens the nuclear company, are just a few points. The political aim is open interference in the everyday life of the district of Siemens City, which is without doubt firmly under the influence of the Siemens production plants & the IMF/WB congress that is taking place not far away"- the anti-nuclear movement.

*"Everywhere in the world people are trying to live free & self-determined lives. They are simply not complying with capitalisms aims of exploitation. They refuse, or organise against their oppressors, they fight for their self-determination."*

## 27.9.88 DAY OF ACTION AGAINST POPULATION POLICY, DEVELOPMENT POLICY, RACISM AND SEXISM.

"Overpopulation in the 3rd world.

Birth control in Puerto Rico- 40% of women sterilised. § 218 (abortion restriction law)- "murder of the unborn life".

80% Turkish children in Kreuzberg schools.

"Are the Germans dying out?"

Human genetic counselling (advises women to abort if they are carrying a disabled fetus).

Surplus people? - Population policy!

Everywhere in the world people are trying to live free & self-determined lives. They are simply not complying with capitalisms aims of exploitation. They refuse, or organise against their oppressors, they fight for their self-determination. The offensive of population policy is directed against all people who don't comply with capitals strategy of exploitation,, & who defend themselves. Women are in the centre of the attack. It's not only that they have done the reproductive work ie housework, since the establishment of patriarchal power, but because women are crucial participants in the resistance. Through genetic & reproduction technology, capital is gaining direct access to womens ability to give birth, womens lives, & womens bodies. They say it quite openly: it's easier to kill a guerillero in his mothers womb than in the jungle.



The population policy of the 80s is a central component of IMF/WB policy. The heart of this policy is separating the people who can be exploited by capital from the mass of the world population. As the worldwide class struggles are becoming more & more uncontrollable for capital, it is forced to answer with a global concept of selection & extermination. In the metropolises

this happens in human genetic counselling, which restrains women from having children that are potentially unexploitable even before they are born (one aspect of this is the planned use of vast genetic data banks to select the genetically best-qualified workers for a given job). Genetic recording, the restructuring of the health sector, the marginalisation of women, foreigners, the old & the sick, & all those who don't integrate, is all based on the same racist principle.

In the three continents, this attack is much more brutal. Capitals tools range from driving people out of their territory by destroying their self-sufficient structures & using agri-business that has been modernised using genetic technology, to the use of development aid for counter-insurgency & pacifying people, to the staging of regional limited wars. The streams of refugees that arise are meant to be used in factories that supply the world market or annihilated by the use of hunger as a weapon against those who can't be integrated. Measures to reduce the population, forced sterilisation programmes, birth control injections effective for 3 months at a time, & the abortion restriction laws (here) are all part of the same programme. Women are no longer meant to be in a position to decide if they have children, but the men of power want to secure access to women's bodies. Here they call abortion "murder of an unborn life", in the three continents they talk of overpopulation.

There is no such thing as overpopulation!! Surplus population as defined by capital means; surplus for making profit, surplus mouths to feed, & surplus because of the potential for disturbances. Neither famine nor poverty are natural. On the contrary they are the calculated result of imperialist world policies, in which the IMF/WB have a key function.

*Mass looting in Sao Paulo.*

*FMLN storm barracks in El Salvador.*

*A strike at Adler in S. Korea (1).*

*Adler in W. Germany wrecked by arson attack.*

*Attack on the 'Friedrich Ebert Stiftung' (2).*

*Attempted attack on the IMF office.*

*Attempted attack on a genetic technology institute.*

Everywhere in the world there is massive resistance to the depopulation programmes financed by the IMF & WB. The so-called bread & IMF riots stretch from Africa, Asia & Latin America to the resistance in the metropolises. From the struggle against sterilisation programmes, the organisation of women around the world, land occupations, looting & mass strikes, to liberation movements in the three continents, from looting & strikes to militant resistance in the metropolises, people are expressing their needs in the worldwide class struggles.

A system of debts, exploitation & extermination has no mistakes - it IS the mistake!!! Imperialism has names & addresses! On the 2nd day of action we want to visit the following places; in the morning a blockade of Tegel airport. Tegel airport is Allied forces base no. 165 & is under the control of the French commandant. It has civil & military functions. At the airport the National Security Agency (NSA), the military intelligence service of the USAs national security council, has a radar

station. In spring 86 the NSA allegedly received a radio message from the Libyan peoples bureau in E. Berlin to a group in W. Berlin to the effect that the group was responsible for the bomb attack on the 'La Belle' disco that was frequented by GIs. That was the constructed basis for the bombardment of Libya by the US airforce. The airport is a focal point for deportation, sex tourism & trade in women. The "brothel culture" in Asia is the continued degrading heritage of the military intervention of the US troops during the Vietnam war. Today the tourists have taken over the role of the GIs in the prostitution business. In addition, Tegel is often the last stop before deportation by Berlins justice. During the 4 days of the congress, PanAm has reserved 2,000 seats a day for congress participants. Berliners have been recommended on TV to greet the arriving bankers. *We second that.*

Midday; short demo at Schering

Schering is one of the biggest transnational concerns in the chemical/pharmaceutical industry, trading in more than 20 countries. In 1985 Schering, together with Berlin council, founded the "Institute for genet-

ic-biological research" at the free university. The company has the sole rights to exploit the results of the research. Alongside medicine, Schering produces artificial fertilisers, industrial chemicals & pesticides. Among other things, the pesticide "Fundal", which causes cancer & is banned in W. Germany, is exported to the countries of the 3 continents. Every year more than 40,000 people die of pesticide poisoning.

*"During the Congress they will try to break all forms of protest-let alone resistance- with intensified repression. But we won't allow ourselves to be forced back into the peace of our homes. We will not take on the function of a figleaf for this system... romping on the oppositional playing field... letting the honourable gentlemen stage their show undisturbed..."*

Based on the investigation into the anti-baby pill started by Schering during the Nazi era, the tri-monthly birthcontrol injection "Noristerat" was developed. For every 100 women administered with "Noristerat", 75 stay infertile forever. Calculated selection & elimination happens in the metropolises as well as in the 3 continents; in W. Germany the tri-monthly injection is used above all for foreign women, women dependent on social security, & women who are disabled & in psychiatric institutions. Scherings dirty business has a tradition, names & addresses: Schering AG, Berlin 65, Mullerstr. 170.

In the afternoon; Demo at the German Institute for Development Policy (DIE)

Quote: "Mass poverty is storing up less global explosive than the risks of a delay in payment by 'big debtor nations'" (DIE progress report).

The DIE is the most important agency the W. German elite in the field of development policy. The DIEs graduates are employed in international & national gov't & non-gov't "development aid" organisations, & in authorities in the 3 continents. Through this direct influence, capitals access is meant to be guaranteed as far as possible. Its practical realisation follows as the examination of the social situation & the populations willingness to resist. Preventive counter-insurgency is used in that way, in order to exploit the people as efficiently as possible. The loan conditions are imposed on the countries through the IMFs so-called "policy dialogue", which is partly done directly with DIE representatives. Military dictatorships have been favourites with the DIE all along, eg Turkey. According to the DIE, Turkey is seen as a testing ground, because the whole spectrum of development policies can be tried out there. Martial law, the banning of opposition, & the use of torture created the preconditions for that.

To end the day, we thought that interfering in the cultural programme of the IMF & world Bank was a good idea. When the days over, the men of high finance will want to enjoy themselves. The opera, Charlottenburg Castle, the orchestra & the posh brothels will be the scenes of their pleasures. Let's spoil their evenings...

**28.9.88 ATTACK EXPLOITATION & DOMINATION IN EVERYDAY LIFE, BUILD UP REVOLUTIONARY COUNTER-POWER!**

Getting up full of energy at half past five in the morning, & looking forward to work- beaming faces in the underground, everyone's glad to be up so early. The bosses are nice, they're really only fellow workers. It's no wonder that you happily create value. The women- all pretty & sexy- aren't just there to work, but also to make for a good atmosphere & pleasure for mens eyes. In the evening it's back into the lap of the nuclear family. Married or not- it's just that times are changing. A short chat with the neighbor, & the nice punk from next door also works hard all day in his co-op. And today's woman manages the household,



children & a bit of part-time work- & all without complaining. Still fresh & fit, fashion conscious & loving. The odd beer or a little smoke to relax, & then everything's alright.

That's how they'd like us: isolated, dependent, passive & good.

In order to maintain the worldwide system of profit, exploitation & domination, the rulers need us to be accodating & docile workers, they want us divided by sex & race & they want to play us off against each other, both in wage work & in areas where there's never been a wage (housework, childcare...). The main pillars of this domination are;

-Compulsion to work, having to sell yourself according to capitalist & patriarchal conditions, in order to have a means of livelihood. Only egoists & those without scruples can escape this, by getting others to work for them (from mens reproduction by women to founding a firm).

-And compulsion to hierarchical role-behaviour based on gender, necessary to maintain the inequality between men & women, which makes exploitation & division of women & men possible. To do this THEY use all forms of violence as an expression of the gender hierarchy & as a lever to force women to submit in mind & body. Being forced into patriarchal roles also demands certain forms/norms of behaviour from men.

The rulers biggest problem is that these pillars of their power are constantly being shaken, there has always been resistance against their interests, from refusal & sabotage to organised revolutionary movements. Class struggle. All social conditions & functions of institutions can be traced back to the relation of struggle, whether its school, church, the social security office or prison.

We want to disrupt the congress, but in particular we want to name everyday structures of oppression & intensify the resistance & refusal which goes on daily (& that is often hidde out of sight) & we want to show that this system, in its apparent omnipotence, is vulnerable everywhere. Above all that means: collective appropriation: "Let's take what's ours anyway!" - carefully directed disruption; "Let's put a spanner in the works of power!"

Appropriation includes all sciving of work & school, squatting of houses, the taking & holding by force of womens spaces, the shoplifting that goes on daily, faredodging, & insurance "fraud". It includes rent reduction & squatting against the power of landlords. It's also burglary, so-called "petty crimes" & bank robberies. Appropriation happens conciously & unconsciously, in mass & individual forms. It can also mean enrichment & hierarchy. It goes on in organised & spontaneous forms. And organisation doesn't necessarily means it's collective- many burglary gangs are structured from the boss to the lowest one, apart from the fact that often the wrong people are the victims, or things are done with too much force & targets are not picked carefully enough, manliness counts for a lot, & the whole thing is embedded in the capitalist structures of the stolen goods dealers. To us, appropriation is also when refugees just take for themselves the right to come here, it doesn't matter whether they are persecuted leftists or they jsut want to escape from the extreme living conditions in the three continents. Appropriation can also mean breaking through the awe & recognition of "white medicine", & acquire knowledge & skills outside & against the ruling science/technology. Appropriation is also broadcasting stations, newspapers & pamphlets that distribute suppressed news. Every hour that women break out of their intended roles as comforters, nurses, pillows & patient workers in the factory or household is appropriated. Appropriation is every womens cafe, every free space, its taking the courage & strength to fight, to resist machos, it's organising childcare independently of creches, it's when every women can say; "I decide what happens to my body". Appropriation is an expression of the class's everyday struggle to survive, the most natural method of defence against capitalist exploitation & strategy, against male domination & the exploitation of women. If appropriation, as we have tried to outline it, arises more out of defence, in order to secure a space for ourselves, then disruption is more an expression of discontentment with conditions. Both forms merge together, they can't be rigidly separated.

Disruption is slogans, graffiti on walls, our leaflets in the underground, factories, supermarkets & letterboxes. It's altered advertising placards, intervening when sexist or racist comments are made. It's



refusal in every form, not making your body available, not being responsible as a matter of course for caring for men, not fitting the fashion ideal, not functioning. It disrupts things when women live together, when we break down the isolation that makes us uncontrollable. Disruption is a punch in the face of the screw, the foreman, the macho & anyone who harasses you. It's smashed windows & burning tires. It can be blind & destructive (eg. smashed up phone boxes), but it can also be carefully directed subversion, sabotage & agitation. The undermining of "order" & "normality". It can provoke sympathy & understanding, but also rejection & hate. It's stolen or destroyed files from offices & firms, sabotaged surveillance cameras. But sometimes it's just an awkward question asked at the right time, a persistent, probing curiosity which exposes practises that harm people. Those who are dragged from the anonymity of their desks or uniforms & are given names & faces as screws, judges & bosses feel the effects of disruption. It is disruptive when those who are supposedly "weak" suddenly start defending themselves & hitting back at those above them, when we develop solidarity that overcomes the isolation of prisons & psychiatry, when we organise ourselves & don't delegate parties & unions to represent us.

The point is to make the often isolated & inconspicuous opposition into a common attack on domination & exploitation, through disruption & appropriation. Of course, it's so much the better if by doing that we interfere with the congress. That depends on how many women & men make these days their own, take time off sick, or start something at work, & think out for themselves how we can make our resistance clear on these days.

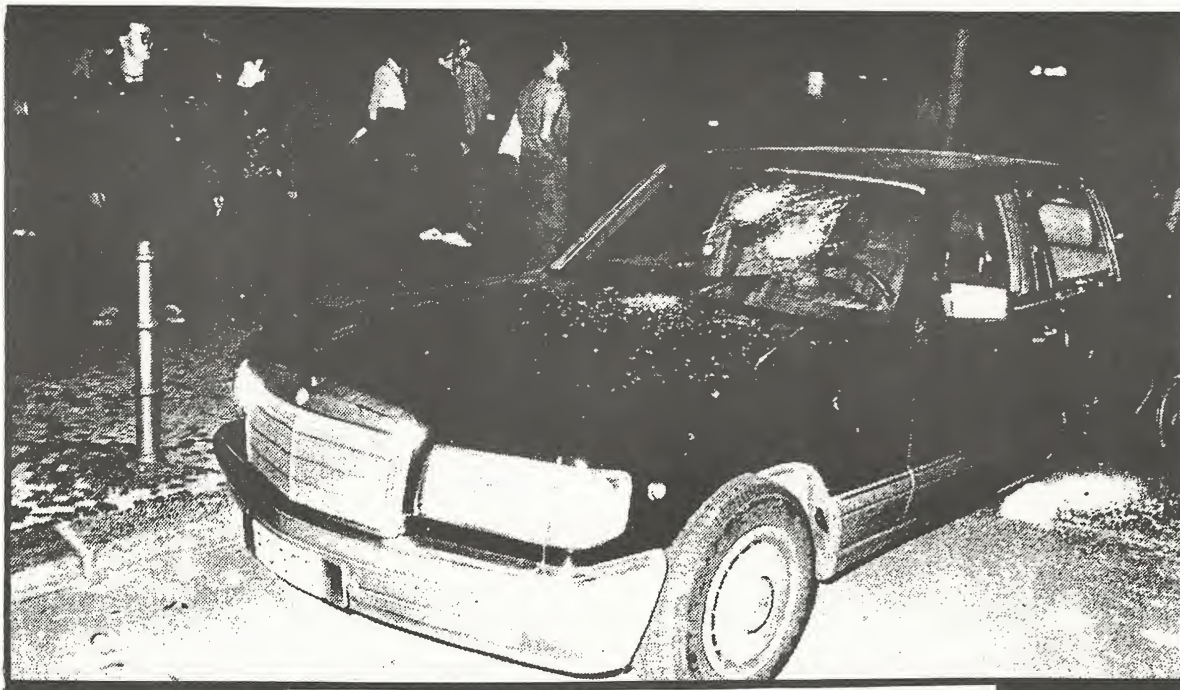
Our suggestions for the "official programme" of the 3rd day: a welcome in front of the employment office, a march past Checkpoint Charlie & the aliens police, a rally at the General Sickness Fund office.

The welcome is meant to offer the morning queue in front of the employment office a little variety, that means we don't want to impair the normal proceedings, just loosen things up. The peole should decide for themselves if they make the unpleasant trip, or join us. The march is not meant to be seen as a demo, but more as a walk, on which we want to make some comments at a few points.

The aliens police will be closed on this day, however we want to make a speech about daily chicanes & racism.

The rally in front of the GSF has the aim of disrupting the process of administration. The social insurance identiy card, which is to be set up from 1989 with the help of the GSFs sickness insurance number, is the highest stage of total recording & control so far. The GSF, aliens police & employment office are three of the institutions which, according to how the class finds ways of temporarily escaping their permanent obligations, are constantly refining & checking their tools. The aim is always to completely control people, & to recognise & correct deviations & obstinacy early. After the visit to the GSF we want to go into the citys business district.





† BANKERS LIMOUSINE ATTACKED IN W. BERLIN DURING ANTI-IMF PROTESTS, 1988.

There is to be a procession of cars to the 'Deutsche Bank', organised by an alliance of taxi collectives. A large proportion of households owe debts to banks. The banks finance their deals in the 3 continents with our hard-earned money. The banks are a further instrument of control in our everyday lives through the central bank data that allows peoples credit worthiness to be checked & through the compulsion to have an account. Starting from now, at the latest, we propose decentral actions. We want to meet again in one or more department stores (that have been made known beforehand) for a "department store inspection", in order to give our fantasies free rein there. For example; spraying goods from S. Africa & Israel, giving out leaflets, playing invisible theatre, annoying detectives, using the confusion to fill our pockets, cut off security labels, sabotage cash tills & much more... To us, a department store is not only a temple of consumption, but also a factory in which many hundreds of people work; you might get a kick out of paying out you hard-earned money, but above all it's a place of work for thousands of housewives who have to do the daily shopping there.

In the evening we want to go to the Ku'damm or nearby establishments to disturb the bosses at their leisure & at their high-class meals, eat the rich.

29.9.88 THE DIVIDING LINE IS NOT BETWEEN THE METROPOLES & THE THREE CONTINENTS, BUT BETWEEN ABOVE & BELOW!

The fourth Day of Action is to make it clear that there is a worldwide struggle against the oppressors & blood suckers, both in the three continents & here.

Capital creates prosperity, a lot of prosperity for the owners of capital, some prosperity for the small shareholders, & no prosperity for those who are sucked dry. Without ruthless plundering, without the squeezing out of working power & without the exploitation of womens work, this prosperity would not be attainable for the few. So the whole thing is organised, coordinated, prepared & secured by the national & international administrators of the "community", which means their organisation of the "common" interest for the criminal

concentration of wealth. We are allowed to take part in the choosing of administrators at the national level by the solemn casting of a meaningless piece of paper every 4 years. The international administration eg. the IMF, World Bank, NATO, the European Community etc. are floating about higher up, quite unreachable by your little piece of paper. The tools of the IMF/WB are: people gifted in the art of persuasion dressed as politicians, bank managers, tax collectors, bailiffs, Vatican bureaucrats, pharma-bosses, ticket inspectors, spies, preachers, family planners, social security managers, drug barons, pimps, men who trade in women, researchers, urban planners, bulldozers, truncheons, teargas, water cannons, prisons, guns, grenades, napalm & bombs. Nowhere will you find abstract structural violence. Capitals tools appear everywhere, forcing their way into every corner, through everyday violence, sexism, racism, murder, mass poverty, forced migration, hunger, sickness, being forced to flee. And some of it spills over, into the Black Forest, the peaceful suburb, the middle class paradise, the nice bar- the peace is disrupted!

*"Suddenly the electric pylon in front of your house topples over, the supermarket with S. African oranges gets burnt out... what's happened?"*

Suddenly the electric pylon in front of your house topples over, the supermarket with S. African oranges gets burnt out, the judge who sits for asylum cases gives up, there's a demonstration here & a sunday walk (traditional form of mass protest) there, genetic technology is talked about, & during the week people take time off sick. At dusk there are pictures on tv of the "hunger revolts" against the IMF programmes. What's happened? The oppressed people, the transnational debt-slaves & the hungry won't allow themselves to be controlled at will, boundlessly exploited, pushed around. They're rising, no longer going along with it, fighting back- & when they organise themselves, the hunger revolt will become an insurrection, a liberation struggle. The answer of the rulers is then war.



The transitions between ordinary exploitation, with everyday violence, military counter-insurgency & open counter-revolution are blurred, they depend upon the balance of power between imperialism, capitalism & patriarchy on the one hand, & international resistance on the other hand.

International solidarity, resistance in the countries of the three continents & our resistance here are decisive for this balance of power. The struggles had & have many aspects; in communities, factories & prisons, in various areas of society. There is the armed struggle in the metropolises, there are the struggles of revolutionary women here & in many countries of the world, getting stronger all the time, there are the struggles of the national liberation movements.

Resistance is organised against capitalist oppression; against genetic technology & imperialist population policy, against war & rearmament policies, against nuclear power stations & other strategic projects of capital. It breaks through exploitation & oppression. We understand our resistance here as part of the international insurrection, & in doing so we identify ourselves both with the liberation movements as well as with the increasing class struggles of the peoples of the 3 continents, which make the IMF/WBs crisis strategies necessary. Mass strikes, land occupations, so-

called bread riots, militant struggles in the factory, the insurrection in Palestine, the liberation struggles from the Philippines to El Salvador, the struggle of the blacks in S. Africa & the boycott of S. African goods, rent struggles, the riots from Brixton to Kreuzberg, the struggles of communities, daily refusal, dock & steelworkers strikes from Euskadi to Rheinhausen, the struggles in prison, the actions of the various guerilla organisations from Belfast to Athens & militant sabotage actions in the metropolises show that worldwide resistance is taking on a new dimension.

When resistance here intensifies & becomes broader, & when we attack their projects here in the heart of the beast, *that is our internationalist contribution.*

For a strong internationalist revolutionary demonstration against the IMF & World Bank.

(This final DoA was the demo by a Revolutionary Autonomous bloc, with about 7-8,000 radicals. The demo is illegal, unlike the first days demo which had upwards to 80,000 people, & many participants wore Palestinian kaffayas & masks, an illegal act in W. Germany. During the closing meeting of the IMF the bankers were advised not to return to the centre of the study but to head directly to the airport.) ★



#### Notes

1 Adler sells discount clothing in W. Germany produced by low-paid women in S. Korean factories, & was attacked by Red Zora in an arson campaign in solidarity with the women.

2 The 'Friedrich Ebert Stiftung' is a social democratic organisation.

The term 'the class' is used instead of the phrase 'the working class' because extermination (eg. through hunger) rather than exploitation in wage work is what maybe more people worldwide are confronted with. Mass unemployment in the metropolises is just one reason that the traditional industrial worker is no longer characteristic of the class as a whole. In many countries of the three continents, women's wage work has quickly expanded & women & young people are often more in the forefront of class struggle (eg. Palestine). The question of what identifies the class worldwide is part of an ongoing discussion in W. Germany. As well, the traditional word in German for 'working class' refers to male workers, & so the term 'the class' also avoids the sexist language.



→ from pg. 15

In rejecting national lib. struggles some anarchists & marxists use the slogan "Nation or Class", with the view that because we struggle for international revolution, limited national struggles are an obstacle. However, as has already been said, the limitations of these struggles can be viewed as the direct result of our own revolutionary struggles *lacking in intensity & influence.* Demanding "World revolution" while rejecting national lib. struggles & ignoring the lack of revolutionary struggle here, is like trying to get blood out of stone. With or without revolutionary solidarity, the exploited of the 3 continents will continue to organise & build resistance on their own. Whether or not the national liberation struggles contribute to international revolution, by extending the insurrection, is something that also rests in our hands.

Our Internationalism, which connects revolutionary struggles here with the struggles in the periphery, is what creates the anti-imperialist resistance. The basis of our anti-imperialism, is extending the social struggle to form a base in the anti-capitalist struggle, within an international perspective. A contributing part of developing an anti-imperialist, international perspective is seeing that, even with the contradictions & limitations, national liberation struggles also contain class fronts, & this is what connects our struggles into one. Our position should be one of intervening & extending the struggle.

"Anarchists should give all their support, concrete regarding participation, theoretical concerning analysis & study, to national liberation struggles." (Alfredo Bonanno, *Anarchism & the National Liberation Struggle*). ★

FOR INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AND  
REVOLUTIONARY RESISTANCE



## The Resistance Conspiracy Case

Try to picture, six defendants in prison uniforms & shackles seated behind a bullet-proof glass partition, labeled terrorists, on trial for conspiracy, and surveillance cameras scanning the courtroom. While a few rooms down the hall Oliver North went to trial in his military uniform & crowned with the president's blessings.

On Oct. 21, 1983, more than 1500 marines landed in Grenada in what the u.s. gov't deemed a "detour" before heading to Lebanon.

On Nov. 7, 1983, the u.s. capitol was successfully bombed as a protest against this invasion. The Armed Resistance Unit claim responsibility.

Neither the F.B.I. or the Joint Terrorist Task Force know for certain who were actually responsible for this action. Nor do they know who are members of the A.R.U., who also claimed responsibility for two other bombings in D.C. in Apr. & Aug. of 1983. Nor they know who are members of the revolutionary Fighting Group, who claimed responsibility for the bombing of the F.B.I. office on Staten Island in Jan. 83. Nor do they know who are members of Red Guerrilla Resistance who successfully bombed four targets between Apr. 84 & Feb. 85. Two of these targets being the Israeli Aircraft Industry and the So. African consulate & another being the officers' club at the Washington D.C. Navy Yard. There were no deaths or injuries resulting from any of these bombings. Nor do these military police (labeled "counter-insurgency" or "counter-terrorist" groups) know when or to what extent or even if any of the members were involved in any of the other groups.

Then how are there now six defendants on trial for conspiring to do these bombings? How are there now 6 dedicated anti-imperialist activists charged with substantive counts of destroying gov't property with fire or explosives regarding the 4 D.C. bombings?

The defendants (anti-imperialist activists) are Alan Berkman, Tim Blunk, Marilyn Buck, Linda Evans, Susan Rosenberg & Laura Whitehorn. Two of these activists were already in prison at the time of some of these bombings. Three of them have already been convicted of conspiracy involving the same evidence in previous trials. 5 of these activists are already serving sentences cumulating a total of 248 years (four of those being the equivalent of federal life sentences), & the 6th defendant, Laura Whitehorn is now the longest prisoner to be held in preventive detention in u.s. history at 4 years.

What the f.b.i., j.t.t.f. & u.s. gov't are acutely aware of is that there are gaps in their precious counter-insurgency files, actions left unsolved, & with the capture of these activists a unique opportunity was provided to clean up their records. The lack of physical evidence may have posed a slight problem but, typical of governments concerned with their own survival, they resorted to propaganda & conspiracy charges.



RCC defendants: Marilyn Buck, Linda Evans, Tim Blunk, Laura Whitehorn, Susan Rosenberg & Alan Berkman

### The Propaganda

Using the established current of anti-communist propaganda & the recent surge of the Reagan administration's "war against international & domestic terrorism", the f.b.i. conducted "investigations" and released information to link these much feared groups in the public eye.

5 of the defendants (Berkman, Blunk, Evans, Rosenberg & Whitehorn) and Elizabeth Duke were each, at various times & in various capacities associated with the May 19th Communist Organization or the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee. These organizations, & specifically, the defendants, became targets of fbi investigation & repression in the aftermath of the 1981 Brinks incident in Nyack, N.Y. The fbi investigation was turned into a program for "fighting terrorism." The investigation of an attempt to expropriate funds for revolutionary work by the Black Liberation Army and its allies was used by the fbi as an opportunity to try to destroy entire organizations. The concept that people fighting for human rights, social justice, national liberation are "terrorists" became the defining propaganda thrust of the fbi. Following the Brinks incident, the fbi ran a public disinformation campaign to portray public political groups as illegal "terror networks." Ken Walton of the NY fbi and JTTF told the press that the Republic of New Afrika and May 19th & others were terror networks. May 19th was a public communist organization that focused on work in support of national liberation struggles. When one member of May 19th was arrested in the Brinks incident, the fbi put out the story that the "May 19th Coalition" was a "terror network" linking the FALN, the BLA, & the Weather Underground (which no longer existed).

There is no such thing as the "May 19th Coalition." What united these groups was not joint clandestine activity, but rather political agreement on self-determination, the right of oppressed people to secure their human rights by any means necessary and the need to build strong social movements to struggle for these goals. The groups were all revolutionary in their outlook and in their critique of u.s. society, and the fbi was determined to eliminate all of them. The fbi's program of repression made no distinction between advocacy & action, legal & illegal political activities. A loyal opposition will be tolerated in the u.s.; a radical opposition will not. The fbi's program of domestic counter-insurgency implemented against the Black Liberation struggle, Puerto Rican Independence Movement, & white anti-imperialist groups after the Brinks incident was based on the approach the CIA and military have attempted to take against the Third World.

In regards to this case, the fbi have made references to "terrorism," "terrorist activities" or have referred to the defendants as "terrorists" in interviews conducted with potential witnesses, in grand jury minutes where Special Agents of the fbi appear as witnesses, to influence the issuing of search warrants and to justify blatantly illegal searches.

The u.s. attorney and fbi personnel have promoted a view among the public that the defendants & the social movements of which they are a part are "terrorists" thus prejudicing the potential jury pool.

Personnel at the D.C. jail (where the defendants are held while awaiting trial) have been told that the defendants are "terrorists" who kill civilians thus justifying their being placed in total isolation for months, in addition to special restrictions



# ANTI-IMPERIALIST PRISONERS IN THE U.S.

being placed on lawyers & paralegals associated with the case.

Also, u.s. attorney Jay Stephens issued a press statement which said, "Let this be a warning to those who seek to influence the policies of the United States through violence or terrorism that we will seek unrelentingly to bring them to justice." This is an illustration of the chilling political message this prosecution is designed to communicate.

## The Conspiracy

The defendants are charged with conspiracy the goals of which are to bomb buildings. The goals also include seeking "to influence, change & protest policies & practices of the u.s. gov't concerning various international & domestic matters through violent & illegal means."

The "evidence" used to prosecute on this conspiracy charge are too extensive for this article to list. Some of this "evidence" was obtained illegally and is identical to the type of fbi illegal activities carried out in COINTELPRO. The defendants in the U.S. vs. Whitehorn et al. were instrumental in fighting COINTELPRO. They & their political associates have continuously been targets of fbi harassment & illegal investigations.

Following the exposure of illegal fbi counterintelligence activities in the 60's & 70's, the Levi Guidelines were issued by the Attorney General to limit fbi activities. Over the years, the Reagan admin. sought to change these guidelines in order to allow increased political repression. The changing of the guidelines was achieved largely by using May 19th as a prime example of "domestic terrorism." A review of the fbi testimony to Congress shows that May 19th was never found to have committed any illegal acts, yet their public activities were conveniently characterized by fbi director William Webster as "terrorism."

\*\* The activities subjected to fbi scrutiny, as released in fbi memos following the CISPES (Committee In Solidarity with People of El Salvador) investigation, include May 19th members participating in peaceful demos, holding a public educational forum, holding a public rally, advocating solidarity with the Southwest African National Union (SWAPO), & having "contact with CISPES."

\*\* Advocacy of revolutionary activity, in the eyes of the gov't & fbi, justifies characterization of May 19th as "terrorist" & assertion that "bombings are believed to have been

perpetrated by May 19th Coalition."

\*\* When questioned as to the "connection" between May 19th & the FALN, Webster responded that May 19th members "attend rallies & functions" supportive of the Puerto Rican independence struggle & the FALN.

\*\* Similarly, Webster answered a question about the "link" between May 19th & "Brinks" by saying that one person associated with May 19th was arrested in the Nyack incident, & that members of May 19th engage in "support of New Afrikan Freedom Fighters."

\*\* After years of repetitious propaganda of the fbi-created myth of the

## The Ohio 7

After an 11-month trial in Springfield Mass., the Seditious Conspiracy & RICO (Racketeering Influenced Criminal Organizations) charges against 3 members of the Ohio 7 were defeated on Nov. 29/89 when the trial was declared a mistrial.

The trial against Ray Luc Levasseur, his wife Patricia Helen Gros Levasseur, & Richard C. Williams began on Jan 10/89 & exceeded costs of over \$10 million. "The gov't. has lost one of the most significant political trials of the decade & the longest Seditious trial in the history of the US" (Ray Levasseur). The gov't.s attempt to 'criminalise' revolutionary groups & at the same time introduce a far-reaching repressive law into the "anti-terrorist" web of the judicial process has clearly failed.

RICO, used mostly against organized crime syndicates, can result in a conviction if it is proved that 2 or more people conspired or committed 2 or more crimes that were related & done within a reasonable time period for economic gain. In the past, the US has used it successfully against Black Liberation groups who carried out political expropriations from banks & armoured cars. By using these charges, an attempt is made to 'criminalise' & 'de-politicize' the expropriations of revolutionary groups & subsequently the entire politics & related actions. This is now a common charge by the state, the political aspects of "terrorist" cases are now dismissed or devalued. The militants are presented as no more than a mafia style organisation, & above all any discussion on the unequal distribution of wealth in a class structured society is avoided. Against this, the Ohio 7 themselves stand as members of the exploited class, workers who produced the wealth of the bourgeois class, working as miners, mill workers & factory workers. two of them served as soldiers for US economic interests in Vietnam, a historical role always

May 19th Coalition "terror network," a 1985 fbi "Profile in Terrorism" lists as a "terrorist incident" the arrest of nine May 19th members for trespassing during a peaceful sit-in at the ticket office of the So. African Airways in New York City.

In the program of political suppression conducted by the fbi under the rubric of "anti-terrorism," the most attenuated political association with a legal organization that advocates revolution can turn a peaceful anti-apartheid protest into a "terrorist incident." The nine activists arrested for trespassing were included in the total number of "terrorists" described by fbi as arrested in 1985.

Like the May 19th Communist Organ-

relegated to the poor.

The Seditious Conspiracy charge, under which a person can be convicted for conspiring (ie. agreeing) to "overthrow or oppose by force the gov'ts. authority, or to delay the execution of any US law", has far-reaching implications. Because of the vagueness of the law, its application to anyone who opposes the gov't. & the lesser degree of proof needed, the state can define what is "acceptable" as forms of resistance. In this way, the facade of 'democratic dissent' & its political aspects are circumscribed.

The trial wasn't just about burying the Ohio 7, it was about implementing a repressive apparatus that would allow for its extension into other areas as needed, beyond the actions of an armed group. It was to stand as a clear example that not only would the "legal" arm of capital & the state prosecute you for carrying out such actions, but that it would also be capable of prosecuting you for conspiring to "break the law". It was clearly a test-trial, to see what level of repression the revolutionary & social movements in the US could be subjected to. For Puerto Rican *Independistas*, Seditious Conspiracy has already been successfully applied.

The trials for the actual bombings of the Ohio 7, charged as members of the *United Freedom Front*, ended in 1986, with sentences ranging from 15-45 years. Of the 11 actions, which included bombing S. African consulate buildings, recruiting centres, & corporations involved in the military-industrial complex of the US such as General Electric, IBM, Union Carbide, Motorola, & Honeywell, & which produced massive damage & disruption, there were no injuries.

+ cont. pg. 10



ization, the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee was targeted by the fbi for harassment and "investigation." The JBAC came under fbi scrutiny after its members supported the defendants in the trial stemming from the 1981 Nyack, NY, Brinks incident. JBAC was also one of the targets the spin-off investigations sparked during the illegal probe of CISPES.

## The CISPES Connection

The CISPES investigation & the *Whitehorn* prosecution are aspects of a program of political repression directed against popular opposition to the Reagan admin.'s aggression in Central America. Just as in the 60s & 70s, the fbi masquerades behind its law enforcement responsibility in order to achieve political ends.



# The Resistance Conspiracy Case

-continued from previous page-

When it served the fbi's purpose, the bombings charged in the Whitehorn indictment became the pretext for investigating May 19th, JBAKC, individuals outspoken in their criticism of u.s. gov't policies & CISPES. In October 1983, the CISPES investigation was expanded to 52 of the 59 fbi regional offices; as a result, "spin-off" investigations of 178 groups & individuals were initiated. A variety of groups involved in social justice struggles were added to the investigation because they were "actively involved in demonstrations, seminars, marches, etc. regarding the u.s. intervention in Central America, the Caribbean (sic) and El Salvador." (memo from Philadelphia Field Office 6 may 84)

Suggestions from Frank Varelli, the fbi's chief informant in the CISPES investigation, indicate that the National Security Council directed part of the attack on the Central America solidarity movement & participated in the investigation of the Capitol bombing. Varelli has stated that he was flown to Washington shortly after the Capitol bombing & met with a variety of federal & district police agents. This meeting took place clandestinely in a motel & was attended by two reps. from the NSC. Varelli was asked to aid in the Capitol investigation & informed by his supervisor to prepare his reports carefully because they were going to the NSC. (James Ridgeway, Village Voice, 3 mar 87). It should be noted that Oliver North & Oliver Revell, a high ranking fbi official specializing in "counter-terrorism", were both members of an NSC counter-terrorism subcommittee. Revell was also in charge of the CISPES investigation & was subsequently promoted to Assistant Executive Director of the fbi. It appears that Oliver North may have been involved in directing a "shadow government" concerned with domestic as well as foreign affairs.

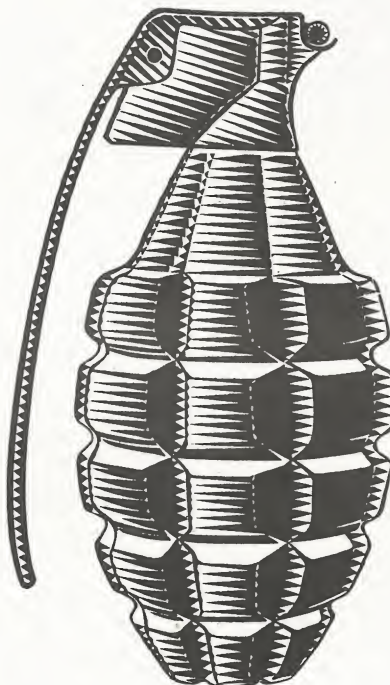
There may well be additional information concerning the links between the CISPES, May 19th, JBAKC investigations & the current indictment, but it is currently hidden behind the secrecy of the grand jury. A grand jury was impanelled in D.C. about the time of the Capitol bombing & was active for the next 24 months. This was the period during which the CISPES investigation was most active, & it seems likely that testimony was given before the grand jury.

## Conclusion

"Terrorism" has no definition under the u.s. law & is commonly understood to mean the indiscriminate use of violence against unarmed civilians for the purpose of destabilizing a population. This definition constitutes an accurate description of the Contra War against Nicaragua, the invasion of Grenada, u.s. support of apartheid in violation of U.N. sanctions & racist attacks by police against Black communities & other people of colour in cities across the United States. All of which are some of the "international & domestic matters" these defendants are accused of trying to change. It is a totally inaccurate description of the acts charged in this indictment, the political motivations of the resistance movement of which the defendants are a part, or of the defendants themselves.

These activists do not claim nor do they deny responsibility for these bombings. They maintain, "We are innocent of any crimes; we support the bombings as part of a many-levelled resistance against u.s. war crime."

They maintain that they are innocent of any crimes. "We support the bombings as part of a many-levelled resistance against u.s. war crimes, racism & colonialism." (Laura Whitehorn, 28 feb 90) Even in the period since their arrests, they have staunchly maintained the right to be part of building a popular opposition to illegal govt practices. They have publicly denounced the political nature of the governments prosecution & have exposed the brutality to which they & other political prisoners in the u.s. are subjected. Each defendant has refused to cooperate with the fbi investigation or to recant his/her political beliefs.



The justice department has had to create an inflammatory atmosphere around this case in order to get a grand jury to rubber stamp the unprecedented type of indictment utilized in this case. The gov't openly states that it has no idea who did any of the charged bombings nor when any of the charged defendants entered or left the "conspiracy"; rather it hopes to convict them by showing that they shared a common political purpose of building a militant resistance movement. To translate that political attack into a legal prosecution has necessitated a unique extension of the already highly nebulous u.s. conspiracy laws. Once more, gov't illegalities are justified under the rubric of protecting society from "terrorism". The reality is a dangerous extension of the repressive powers of the government.

Try to picture a courtroom filled with military police & surveillance cameras, defendants shackled & seated behind a bulletproof glass partition...

There is nothing in the past history of these defendants that can justify such arrangements; it is simply another step in the distortion of the legal system to political ends. It will not only have an impact on the jury & a chilling effect on the spectators, but it is also a step toward ending public trials for political defendants.

The U.S. vs. Whitehorn case directly involves only 6 defendants, but there are lessons for any group or individual involved in practicing opposition to governmental practices & policies. The implications of the government's relentless prosecution in this case are loud & clear. To the embryonic armed clandestine revolutionary organizations it sends the message: "If you dare to fight the power of the state we will brutalize you and smash your movement." To a new generation of activists now building anti-intervention, anti-apartheid & other anti-imperialist movements, the warning is: "Keep your protests peaceful (& even that may not help, ed.) Don't go too far in opposing what the government is doing. Distance yourself from revolutionaries & revolutionary ideas; if you don't, what is happening to them can happen to you." (Breakthrough, vol. X, #1, spring/summer 86)

That new generation is us and whether we are pacifists or militants or somewhere in between, we cannot afford to stand idly by waiting to see the outcome of this case. Conspiracy is a thought crime against certain political beliefs. Conviction in this case will have a devastating effect on all of us.

1. Elizabeth Ann Duke (Betty Ann) was arrested with Dr. Alan Berkman in 1984. Betty Ann, who fled jurisdiction after being released on bail, had been charged with possession of explosives & false identification. Attorney Linda Backiel is currently facing potential contempt of court charges for position of non-collaboration in a grand jury investigation trying to locate Betty Ann. (Libertad, XI/III)
2. Memos dated 19 jan 84, Washington Field Office; 1/84, WFO; 1 jan 84, Subjects File; 10 jan 84, Dallas Field Office; 2 apr 84, DFO
3. Memos 19/01/84, WFO; 22/12/83 Subj. File
4. Written testimony of W. Webster, 2/82, Senate Subcommittee on Security & Terrorism, p. 40
5. Id., p. 42

Article written by Jessica Jane. Most of the information was compile from a document summarizing an extensive Motion to Dismiss for Prosecutorial Misconduct filed in the U.S. vs. Whitehorn case. Special thanks to Tim Blunk & Laura Whitehorn for their help & clarification of facts.

Show support write to the  
R.C.C. defendants!

Laura Whitehorn, #220-858  
Alan Berkman, #233-315  
Marilyn Buck, #233-396  
Tim Blunk, #233-410  
Linda Evans, #233-411  
Susan Rosenberg, #233-412  
D.C. Jail  
1901 "D" St. SE  
Washington, D.C. 20003



# POLITICAL ASYLUM

## A BIT OF COMMON SENSE



Political Asylum, a great band from Scotland, have been around for quite some time now. With a sound similar to the Doobie Brothers (ha!), PA plays a melodic style that is quite enjoyable, backed up by some sensible lyrics. In the following interview, Ramsey talks about their breakup. Well, the band has decided to continue on with one member living in mainland Europe. It also brings up many interesting topics, such as working within alternative & underground methods, as well as various discussions on the anarchist scene & politics, using experiences as a way to introduce these ideas. The interview was conducted in July/89 in San Francisco, at the Without Borders Anarchist Gathering, where PA were able to play some great shows. To contact the band, to get some info on their tapes/records etc. write to Ramsey, 3 Balmoral place, Stirling FK8 2RD UK. Incidentally, this is also the address for AK Distribution, with a wide range of anarchist periodicals etc. Send for a catalogue.

Interviewing Ramsey were three people who work on Endless Struggle. The italicized text is the questions and comments of all three interviewers.

*Last night was your last gig, and we were wondering how you felt about that, and now that Political Asylum is no more? It doesn't really bother me at all. We had a good time, did a lot of things, I'm proud of what we've done. It is time to do something new.*

*New, as in along the same kind of lines? Oh, it has to be political, the most important reason to be in a band is to play music, obviously, or you'd be doing something else, but I don't think you can divorce music from politics. Not even so much the lyrics but what you do and what you say. I think what was good about what we achieved, if we achieved anything, is that we always supported the underground scene, the alternative scene, we always released cheap records, and whenever possible played in underground clubs, never used promoters, we turned down offers from CBS who wanted to sign us up and all that sort of shit. I mean to an extent I don't think lyrics are as important as what you do. Lots of bands have wonderful lyrics. But don't follow through? yeah, there's a number of bands that sing "war is bad" but it's much more important to build a genuine, viable alternative. If you like, for me anarchism means taking control of your own life. Now, that should be as much in entertainment or music as any other sphere of your life. So the process carries on... Yeah, so the most important thing, I think, we did as a band was be part of that. We could have played gigs for high money, violent bouncers, etc.*

*At the gig the other night it seemed Political Asylum was sort of a melodic band in a way, different from the other hardcore bands. Throughout your history as a band, what sorts of reactions did you receive? It has been funny I think, probably because we never set on to play a certain type of music, we played what we played because that's what we enjoyed at the time, and obviously because of the circles we moved in were mainly punk circles, but I think because we played more mellow music, acoustic songs, we did appeal to a wider section of people, and certainly we deliberately tried to do that. I mean, as long as it wasn't a high door price or violent bouncers, or the venue wasn't known as a shit-hole, we'd play anywhere, any time, with any band. So over the years we played acoustic songs at folk fests, we played with rockabilly, metal, folk, disco, we played in schools, churches, metal clubs, so I think in that extent we were more accessible. Within the band I'm the only member that came out of the punk/hardcore thing, like right from the beginning, the band is different now than it was seven years ago, I'm the only original member, but all the time the other members have not been punks and I think that's given us wider musical inputs. Keith and Ewen before they joined the band they'd never listened to any of the bands, before they were into Rush and Genesis, so I think that's been good so you don't get 4 guys who all want to play hardcore thrash. But I think we were always well liked by punks, as far as I can tell by folks writing in letters and such, our most popular songs were always the slow ones, because I think most people thought that it was a good change.*

*I noticed a lot of slower/melodic punk in the U.K. like Chumbawamba, Danbert Nobacon, Culture Shock, and it seemed much more so than in N. America. Is that the trend for punk right now or is there other reasons for their popularity? Culture Shock, everyone always liked them because they're ex-Subhumans, so whatever they do... and Danbert Nobacon is liked because he's of Chumbawamba so whatever he does people like him because they have to like him... I mean that might sound*

*really cynical, but I've been a punk now for ten years, and it really has just gone in cycles of fashions. Like when I started it was the Crass-punk, then along came the Disorder, Chaos UK, "aargh - make homebrew not war" kind of stuff, then your latest fashion of thrash metal. All the folk I used to know who were into it 5 years ago are not into it anymore. Like the "Winter" ep we did in '85, 2 people who played on that who were punks, they were both vegetarian, Crass-punks, now they're not vegetarian, got normal jobs, not that there is anything wrong with having a "normal" job, but you see what I mean. When I see them now they sort of laugh at me "ha ha when you gonna grow up?" And when you think how big Crass was, they sold literally millions of records, and it was a fashion... you can see that in a way at this gathering there's not a lot of content in a way I think its disappointing from that fact, to a great extent it's very punk and hippy, which is fine if you are a punk or hippy.*

*How would you compare this gathering to the one last year in Toronto, which you also attended? On a personal level it's the same, you meet lots of great folk, old friends, new friends, but I think the level of workshops has been far worse, though that might just be the luck of the draw. But I think partly that has to do with the people who've been attracted to this gathering, because it's been much more punk and hippy... I think it's also because it is San Francisco in the summer... Last year there was a lot more normal folk, I mean I've said before that you really got to*



# THE BEAUTY IS IN THE STREETS!

## THE EAST BLOC & THE RE-EMERGENCE OF ANARCHISM.

By now, most everyone is aware of the rapid developments in the USSR & Eastern Europe. Parallel with the political, social & economic reforms & liberalization there has been a re-emergence of the anarchist movement in Poland, the USSR, Hungary, E. Germany, Czechoslovakia, & Yugoslavia.

But while the western media would portray it as the "death of socialism" & the ideological & economic defeat of the "marxist states", what has more realistically occurred, with all *McCarthyism* aside, is the decline of the state "socialism"/capitalism & the development of "free" market economies. The massive infusion of western capital into the economically barren landscape of the East, in the form of new IMF & WB loans, private bank loans, & corporate investment, led primarily by the US, Japan, & W. Germany, is an extension of capital investment which has already made Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary some of the largest debtors to the IMF. Poland alone has a debt of approx. \$40 billion, with negotiations for another \$30 billion in progress.

It is in the face of increasing economic disaster, coupled with the political opposition movements, that the stalinist regimes have been forced to implement far-reaching reforms, particularly to the political apparatus. Romania was surely the most jolting example of both the unveiled & totalitarian repression by the ruling Communist Party, & the outbreak of popular resistance which overthrew it. The possibility of losing control, of being incapable of containing the resistance, ushered in a new era of political control based clearly on the western style of "democratic illusions". In light of this, it comes as no great surprise to see either the decline or dissolution of the once-great power monopoly held by the Communist party, & in its place a new or reformed ruling strata established. As in the west, "democratic" elections will allow the populace to feel they participate in the political apparatus, which will of course be a circumscribed participation. The primary task of the new political strata will be to engage in economic re-structuring. To this end, industrial disputes in Siberia & the Ukraine, which have seen massive strike actions (illegal), have been reacted to by legislating compulsory arbitration. As well, new measures have been brought in to, among other

things, make strike committees financially liable for damages; an act similar to legislation in Britain. In the Baltic states nationalist & secessionist movements, in Armenia/Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, & Georgia, have been subjected to severe repression & the Red Army deployed. All this points to the depth of the political & economic crisis the East bloc is experiencing.

Everywhere in the west, marxist-leninist & trotskyist organisations & party's have been falling over themselves to applaud the overthrow of the stalinist regimes. On the other hand, the "socialists" who still follow the stalinist program, have been busy denouncing the USSR's straying from the path of some imagined "socialism", the most prominent of which is Cubas Castro (who also supported the Chinese repression on the popular movement), & the various sects who follow Castros lead. In any case, whilst the East bloc may have indeed been controlled by stalinist regimes, as anarchists we can only recall the counter-revolution launched by Lenin & Trotsky after the October Revolution in Russia, culminating in massive repression & bannings as well as the Kronstadt uprising in 1921. Because of this it's all the more inspiring to see the re-emergence of anarchist movements & tendencies in East bloc countries, of which the increased acknowledgement in both western & eastern media is indicative of. At protests & riots it isn't so rare to see sizeable numbers of anarchist banners & flags or to hear mention of them. The anarchists in the East bloc have been active for a number of years, after having been all but totally destroyed following the stalinist repression in the 1920's when anarchism was a much more powerful movement.

In Poland, anarchist activity has been most noticeable in a number of organisations which have been very active in the streets. Their relation to the popular movement *Solidarnosc* which is a broad-based movement containing a wide variety of political perspectives has on the one hand consisted of co-operation, & on the other being the most outspoken critics of Lech Walesa & the catholic pro-capitalist elements within *Solidarnosc*. Some examples are the RSA, WiP, & the MA.

The RSA (Movement for an Alternative Society) is a militant organisation of anarchists formed in 1983. It has worked with the *Solidarnosc* Underground, & has been at the cutting edge of current resistance. It should be noted there has been contradictory reports of the groups perspectives particularly around pacifism. In January- "A statue of Lenin yesterday drew some 2,000 demonstrators who defaced it with paint canisters & lit a large fire around its base until riot police moved in. It was the 3rd straight Wednesday of demonstrations around the bronze statue at the Nowa Huta steelworks in Krakow... 'Down with Communism' chanted the crowd, organised by the youthful RSA. They pelted police with rocks & gasoline bombs & were met with water cannon & concussion grenades. The rioters ignored a call for calm from Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, who later issued a statement: "the conflict around the monument... is intensifying. Any drastic solutions of this problem will have the character of a political provocation" (From the mainstream News Services).

KRAKOW, FREEDOM & PEACE MEMBERS HOLD DEMO. OUTSIDE SOVIET EMBASSY. THE BANNER READS "SOVIET GO HOME".





The WiP (Freedom & Peace) is a group of not only anarchists but other radicals which partly grew out of the RSA. In the past 2 years they've been extremely active in ecological, anti-nuclear, freedom to travel, & anti-militarist struggles. Together with other groups they disrupted the May 1 festivities orchestrated by the state. According to the daily "Pap", 61 militiamen were injured, 112 militia vehicles & 9 private cars damaged.

The following is a short chronology of activities. In May 89 "anti-soviet" demos were held, about which a Polish daily reports: "Anarchistic demonstrations, led by members of the illegal movements of freedom & Peace.. desecrated the soviet Unions emblem & insulted the soviet state". A May 16 rally in Krakow had the motto "Soviets go home". & soviet troops stationed in the country were described as "occupation troops". The situation escalated to the point where, on May 19, the soviet ambassador to Poland expressed concern about the anti-soviet demos. On that same day militiamen were deployed to disperse the demonstrators during which barricades were built & the militia pelted with rocks & molotovs. Two officers were captured, beaten, & robbed & according to Polish daily: "were it not for the firm intervention of the friars (from a church) who were able to wrest the beaten-up militiamen from the hands of the assailants, things could have ended dramatically". In Warsaw on June 7 pickets at the embassy of China were held, & a group of students go on hungerstrike in solidarity with the people in China. In Krakow radical groups gathered in the main square at which they adopted a resolution condemning the events in China. WiP & others have also engaged in solidarity actions with struggles in the west. The Gdansk chapter of WiP produce a small paper entitled *A Capella* (circled a).

The MA (Anarchist Intercity) is an anarchist networking federation formed in Oct/88. They have recently made an appeal to western anarchist groups for help in purchasing a printing machine. The anarchist press in Poland is badly produced & issued irregularly, a situation which isn't proportional to the actual strength & growth of the movement. Acces to printing is limited, being either state controlled or owned by the catholic opposition. Money orders can be sent to:

Marcin Rey, c/o Christian Vernon,  
6, rue de hauts pares,  
44000 Nantes, France.  
(Marcin Rey is the international MA representative).

In the USSR, the re-emergence of anarchism has been most noticeable in the KAS, the ABC, & in the initiatives of the state itself!

The KAS is the anarcho-syndicalist Federation of the Soviet Union, & has branches in 30 towns. The KAS also plans to re-publish the paper *Golos Truda* (Voice of Labour), the organ of the russian anarcho-syndicalists during the revolution until the bolshevik repression.

The Anarchist Black Cross, the anarchist & class struggle prisoner support group, is once again being set up in the USSR. It was originally organised in tsarist Russia, & so it's a rather historical time when it "returns to its roots".



It has also been reported that the soviets now plan to 'rehabilitate' the well known anarchist theorist Peter Kropotkin. Plans are being made for events to be held in 1992 to celebrate the 150th anniversary of his birth. A commission has been established to study Kropotkin, to re-open the Kropotkin museum in Moscow, to erect a statue in his honour near Red Square, to open a Kropotkin library in Moscow, to reprint his writings, hold conferences on his works, & even the minting of a Kropotkin ruble!!

In Kharkov, a group affiliated to the KAS has also begun publishing *Nabat* (Alarm). *Nabat* was originally begun in 1918 against the bolshevik repression, until it was raided on Nov. 1920 by the Cheka secret police & many of its militants imprisoned.

In Hungary, a newly formed anarchist organisation, *Autonomia*, now has groups in Budapest, Eger, Nyiregyhaza & Szekeshervar. Several members of *Autonomia* are also founding members of the Independent trade union *Munkasszolidaritás* (Workers Solidarity). *Autonomia* have also participated in prisoner solidarity work, demos, & plan on translating anarchist books as well as publishing a Hungarian anarchist paper.

## ADDRESSES

### Poland:

- RSA, Janusz P. Waluszko, ul. Stare Domki 6/9, 80857 Gdansk, Poland.
- WiP- (western contact): Jan Minkiewicz, Reguliersgracht 46, 1017 LS Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- WiP- Malgorzata Tarasiewicz, Sopot 81-747 ul. Dzierzynskiego 25/3, Poland. (*excellent english*).
- WiP- Anna Niedzwiecka, Petofiego 4/74, 01-917 Warsaw, Poland (*english & french*).
- MA- Adam Nawierski, ul. Nowoiejska 5/139, 25-532 Kielce, Poland (*english*).
- MA- Klaudiusz Wesolek, ul. Slupska 32/2, 80-392 Gdansk, Poland (*english*).

### Hungary:

- Autonomia- c/o Eotvos Klub, 1053 Budapest, Karolyi M. Ut. 9, Hungary.
- Danube circle- Laszlo Vit, 1071 Damjanich st. Budapest, Hungary.

### USA:

- Neither east Nor West, c/o On Gogol Boulevard, 151 First Ave. #62, New York NY 10003, USA. (Networking bulletin, lots of contacts & info).

Sources; On Gogol Boulevard, Black Flag, Anarchy, ABC Denmark, & a special thanx to Riot zine in Poland for english translations of Polish dailies.





build the alternative thing and what not, but that is fine on one level but you can't expect everyone to be counter-culture, especially if counter-culture is so out of most peoples expectations. Most people have to work, to send their kids to school, this is a reality. Most people don't have a choice in the matter. A lot of people realize this is a load of shit, or they have a crappy job, or maybe they don't like working in an arms factory but if the arms factory is the only employer in town, then they don't have any choice and most people are aware of this. I think these are the issues the anarchist movement has to address if it is going to get anywhere. People are interested in their health, their welfare, children, education, there is no point in saying "you guy in the arms factory, you're a wanker, you're making bombs" unless you can give him a genuine, viable alternative. Last year there was a bit more "normal" people, it had that relevance... I don't think it was so much "normal" people... When I say normal I mean people who work in factories and the like... Even then I think there was a lot of people in Toronto part of a counter-culture, not just punk or whatever, but the thing with Toronto was, I think, people went who were more committed in a way because they went to Toronto for the gathering, not just a holiday... Yeah, my impression of Toronto was that it had a very vibrant, active anarchist community... But a lot of that came about because of the gathering... Yeah, that's true. And it seems here there is a different feeling, you have to worry about your valuables, you have to tell people to pick up their plates. I'm awfully cynical. I mean in Britain 90% of the people who call themselves anarchists have got fuck all to do with it. I mean, spirituality and carrot worshipping might be fine for some people and that might be cool, but what's it really got to do with anarchism? Worshipping the Solstice might be fine, but it has fuck all to do with anarchism as far as I am concerned.

How do you find the differences between, say, European anarchism and N. American? Well, it is difficult to tell just coming here for 4 or 5 days, but in Britain anarchism is practically non-existent as an organized movement. The actual organized groups like the Direct Action group have got memberships of like a couple hundred nationally. The only thing we do nationally is the Anarchist Book Fair once a year, which has been really good, getting bigger every year. From my experience selling literature, people are interested. When I do stalls at events, people are interested. When I do stalls at events, say the Mayday Fair in Edinburgh, everything on anarchism goes. Like people when they see it are interested. But in terms of actual organizing, everyone just hates each other in Britain. And as far as I can tell it's very similar in N. America. Like all the time different papers slagging each other off, and won't talk to each other. And some of this I actually agree with, like Green Anarchist magazine for example, the guy is a looney. In there they state their goals, like "autonomous villages where we all grow our own vegetables" and what not. I don't want to live in an autonomous village growing crops all my life. And I think the majority of people in Britain don't want it either. The guy's a fucking dickhead. I mean, if I had my way I wouldn't let him in the Bookfair.

One thing I found in Britain was the Gay and Lesbian scenes weren't really involved in the anarchist community, I found it a much bigger split than here. I think that's partly to do with the small size of like, committed anarchists. I mean, I don't know, I'm not gay so I don't have that much to do with the gay scene, but from what I can tell by my gay friends & some of the literature, like the "Pink Paper", the gay & lesbian scene in Britain isn't particularly political. Ok, you've got your political elements, but like they did a survey in the "Gay Times", the national gay paper, on how gays voted in the last election, & over 50%, or certainly the readership of this paper, voted conservative. It's the conservatives that brought in Clause 28 etc. so I mean, taking that example, many gays are almost reactionary. They've got their sexuality but that's as far as it goes. So I think in Britain, & I presume it's similar elsewhere, it's a very single-issue kind of thing, you're either into gay & lesbian liberation, or animal lib, or anti-apartheid, & like your punk thing it goes in cycles. Like a couple of years ago it was anti-apartheid, today you hardly hear anything about it. A few years before it was the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament... I mean for all I'm knocking these things, this is how I got my education. Going on a CND demo when I was 15 was when I bought my first anarchist paper, some punk sold it to me, so they have some benefits obviously. But it goes in cycles. There's certainly nothing permanent. In Britain people hate each other so much, at the Anarchist Bookfair we hire this massive hall, there's lots of rooms for workshops, but people won't even attempt it. It's hard enough getting people to sit beside each other, peddling

their wares never mind talk to each other.

Has there been any kind of national gathering besides the bookfair? No, because no-one would come. I think in London just before I left there was one put on by some London Anarchists & they tried to organise it as a national gathering but no-one went. From what people told me, certainly none of the main factions, if you like, such as Black Flag, Freedom, or Direct Action, just didn't go.

How do you find a lot of the punks/anarchists relate to gay issues? In Homocore was a letter from a womyn who went to a punk gig & punx wearing @ shirts beat her up because she was a lesbian... There seems to be a growing & increasingly vocal gay & lesbian punx which is great & it's been needed for a long time. But to me the punk scene is basically, most people view it as entertainment, & it's no better or worse than any other section of society. They just listen to louder music that makes you go deaf faster, I mean in the punk scene you've got as much racism & sexism... It's a very diverse thing. I mean, you're right, you've got your 20% of people, you're active minority who're political... I mean it's like you said, a words a word, you can call yourself an anarchist & I know many punks who call themselves anarchists who beat up their girlfriends & everyone knows this & no one says fuck-all... it's like skinheads, certainly in Edinburgh, the reason they fuck things up so much is because they're basically tolerated. Most people don't give a fuck because they're not gay or coloured, they'll talk with them (the skinheads). In Vancouver too, people would hang out with nazi skins & say the only thing wrong with them was that they were nazis! Even with this gathering, it's supposed to be a gathering of revolutionaries, but even so it seems so tolerant of such shit. I think that's part of peoples ridiculous misconceptions of what anarchism is, "you have to tolerate everything because you're an anarchist". And most of the stuff should be common sense, like organising a meeting, I've been to workshops that just disintegrated into chaos, people walking out or you can't hear yourselves because of these fucking bongo drummers outside, & these things shouldn't be a problem. Like nazi skins shouldn't be a problem, everyone should be against them & that's the end of it. There shouldn't be arguments over whether or not to let nazi-skins into gigs, it shouldn't even be a debate. One of the good things about Germany, is as I said, nazi skins shouldn't be a problem, & in Germany they have a massive skinhead problem. In northern Germany, this little town, they've got 400 nazi skins, & that's what you call a fucking problem, except that it's not a problem. They see a nazi skinhead & they batter him. When they had a real serious problem they'd cruise the streets in cars, when they saw a nazi skin they'd jump out & batter him. So eventually the nazi skins stopped being a problem, they don't come to gigs. And it's not a macho thing, you got a problem you deal with it. I mean, I'm a coward, but there's certain things you got to do.

Did you find that with the music you played you had a different response from people? Well, as I said before, I think we benefitted from it. I mean, we're not that different, it's not as though we're the doobie brothers, we play melodic hardcore or whatever, basically we play loud, fast distorted music... we've always appealed to a broad spectrum of people. Like in Scotland there's not a lot of punks, when we play there's maybe 200 people, & maybe 40-50 punx, the rest aren't punx well obviously I'm generalising. You can't tell, if you looked at me you couldn't tell I like raging hardcore, well I don't I like melodic hardcore but you see what I mean. I mean we'd get hippies, college students, heavy metallers, which is great. The more the merrier. ★



Until all are free

Published by *Attack International*. This is a trial statement made by Ray Luc Levasseur, a member of the Ohio 7 convicted of actions of the *United Freedom Front*, who carried out armed actions in the North East US. In it, Levasseur passionately describes his development from a soldier in the Vietnam war, to a political activist against the war, & later to a radical who went underground in the face of increasing repression. Levasseur talks candidly about his working class background, working in mills, factories, loading docks & as a logger, & the social inequality he slowly became conscious of. He also details various aspects of US imperialism, talking in depth about social struggles in Puerto Rico, El Salvador, & about the military-industrial complex behind it.

In the introduction & closing comments, *Attack International* goes to great lengths to distance themselves from clandestine groups & actions, whilst stating their solidarity with Levasseur. But what distinguishes the actions of the UFF from other armed groups like the RAF? According to AI, it's because Levasseur states "I don't think there's going to be significant social change in this country unless a lot of people participate & make it happen". For AI, this sets him, & the UFF, "apart from other underground groups like the German RAF, who glorify in their own isolation & dismiss the working class. The politics of the RAF have more in common with egotistical adventurism than revolution... isolated actions, however courageous & well-intentioned, should not be seen as a substitute for mass struggle... we believe Levasseur would agree, unlike the RAF & others". Yet this only displays AI's blinding ignorance to the politics put forward by various clandestine groups, as AI attempts to invalidate armed struggle. Mass struggle is of course primary to revolution, & the RAF, AI's "proof" of armed groups "dismissing the working class" have stated; "We have never said that one can replace legal proletarian organisations by illegal resistance groups, the class struggle by isolated action, political work in the factory & community, by armed struggle. We only affirm that the development & success of one presupposes the other". Talking on the isolation & distance from the mass struggle, an ex-member of the *June 2nd Movement* said "The police outlaw everyone they regard as dangerous so as to isolate them. It's obvious. But isolation exists in all areas of life, the struggle against isolation & for solidarity is the principal task of all revolutionary practise. It's not illegality which 'bars the way to the masses', but the putrid avant-gardism which can result from it. Moreover, we are not preachers to bring holy history to the 'masses'. The guerillas job is to show the possibilities of resisting an apparently omnipotent state & its profiteers, to organise this resistance. When anti-nuclear demonstrators hinder the destruction of their environment by occupying building sites or using sabotage, when womens groups organise trips abroad or clinic for abortions... that too is

a sort of guerilla war. Guerilla warfare is not a religion, it's no more than the form taken by the struggle of the masses" (from 'The German Guerilla: Terror, Reaction, & Resistance', pub. by Cienfuegos Press & Soil of Liberty).

Discussion & debate on armed struggle is important, & because of this it shouldn't be based on value-judgements, assumptions, & drawing conclusions from the empty analyses that so many of us engage in. Of course, the real strength of this booklet is Ray Luc Levasseur's statement, & that's why it's recommended.

*Attack International*, BM 6577 London WC1N 3XX England.

A HERSTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CELLS & ROTE ZORA: Armed Resistance in W. Germany

A brief summary of the development of these two guerilla groups, their actions, & primarily focusing on the wimmins guerilla *Rote Zora*. Includes an interview with the *Rote Zora* (published in *Resistance* no.8), & info on people charged with membership in the RAF. A good solid introduction that's easily read, altho its briefness disables it from fully exploring the politics of the groups. Available for \$1 from *Bay Area Revolutionary Action* (BARA), po box 3501 Oakland Ca. 94609 USA. BARA publishes a bulletin.

MAYDAY! Oct/89

Continental newsletter of the *Mayday Anarchist Network*. This issue: analysis of the DoA in SF, the sexism & homophobia present at the @ gathering. *Mayday!* is to inform people of upcoming actions/conferences etc., to print analysis of these events, to provide a forum for various networks, & internal analysis. *Mayday!* po box 3395 Oakland Ca. 94609 USA.

LIVE WILD OR DIE!

Second issue of this radical environmentalist paper. Mostly composed of clippings & ideas for various actions, an article on alternative abortion methods. The next *WOD* (it rotates) will be from: po box 13765 Portland Oregon 97213 USA.

PROFANE EXISTENCE no. 1 & 2

Definetely one of the best punk zines around. *Profane Existence* is also an independent record label. Each issue has Ekonomia International news, columns, social/political articles, reviews, scene reports, & bands interviews. In these pages is a counter-cultural resistance built loosely around an anarchist perspective. \$1.50ppd to po box 8722 Minneapolis, MN. 55408 USA.

ECOMEDIA (TORONTO)

Bi-weekly information sheet, part of the international echomedia network. A good, consistent source of counter-info from an anarchist/autonomist perspective. Po box 915 stn F, Toronto Ont. M4Y 2N9 Canada.

BLACK FLAG no. 196

Fairly regular paper 'For Anarchist Resistance', news, articles, Anarchist Black Cross info. Excellent source of information. BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX, England.

ANARCHY no. 23

Fairly diverse issue presenting a variety of perspectives. Includes a re-print of the interview with a W. Berlin autonomist that appeared in *Endless struggle* no. 11, & the DoA article from the same issue. Other articles include Noam Chomsky on propoganda, Murray Bookchin on the population myth, news, reviews, letters. *Anarchy* c/o CAL, po box 1446, Columbia MO, 65205-1446 USA.

FACTSHEET FIVE no. 34

A zine of zine reviews, 100's of 'em! Write to: Gunderloy, 6 Arizona ave. Rensselaer NY 12144-4502 USA.

READ IT!

UK punk zine, interviews with Conflict, Culture Shock, Active Minds etc. reviews, opinions, letters, has character! c/o box 8, 82 Colston st. Bristol UK.

COUNTER-INFORMATION

Bi-monthly newsheet of resistance & struggle throughout the world. c/o P/H cl, 11 Forth st. Edinburgh EH 1 UK.

FIFTH ESTATE vol. 24, no. 3

Against industrial-technology, articles on the SF anarchist gathering, China, *Earth First!* rendezvous, news etc. \$5/year from po box 02548 Detroit, MI 48201 USA.

EARTH RAPERS & HELL RAISERS double comp. ep

Hippycore. A 12 band compilation benefit for Phoenix *Earth First!*, the radical environmentalist group. And while it's a great cause, it's also good to see *Hippycore* distance themselves from the more reactionary, racist elements within *Earth First!*. Musically, some powerful tracks from Sins of the Flesh, Jesters of Chaos, Conspiracy of Equals, Sam I Am, Pleasant Valley Children, Pollution Circus etc. Perhaps *Seein' Red* put it best when they say "the struggle against the destruction of the environment is nothing more or less than the struggle against capitalism ... only a radical/revolutionary force will stop it". \$5ppd. Hippycore, po box 195 Mesa Az. 85211 USA.

DOOM "Police Bastard" ep

Profane Existence. US pressing of this 5 track ep from the english *Doom*. Typically heavy thrashed-out *Doom*, perhaps winner of record-title-of-the-year-award? \$2.50ppd to po box 8722 Minneapolis MN 55408 USA.

DISORDER "Violent World" Lp

Disorder rec. It's as if *Disorder* just awoke out of hybernation from '84; sloppy, loud, thrashed-out noise, lots of fun. As they say, "Anarchy is our dream, don't wake us up". Info: write Revolver, 3 Dove Lane, St. Pauls, Bristol, 2 England.

SOFA HEAD "Pre-marital Yodelling" Lp

Profane Ex. Another US pressing of a UK band. *Sofa Head*, with ex-members of *Dan* deliver a melodic & upbeat style with strong female vocals... but where do they get their titles?



#### PLEASANT VALLEY CHILDREN cassette

Pleasantly energetic & gruff muzik with not so pleasant lyrics, focusing on the rather dark & morbid side of reality. Definately not a "positive" band but as they say "who needs love to have any fun!". PVC have since released an ep- well worth checking into for a jolt of unpleasant reality. Pleasant Valley House c/o box 32, 52 call lane, Leeds LS1 6DT England.

#### ANGRY KIDS/CABAL split Lp

Wasted effort. Two great bands with a driving & njoyable sound. On one side of the cover is a large "Silence=Death, Action=Life" around a pink triangle, & inside there is a strong anti-homophobic message. From *Angry Kids*; "End 'fag-bashing', mentally, emotionally & physically". From *Cabal*; "Open the door-you'll never know how it feels/Not to be able to kiss your lover/In a public place/You'll never fear getting beat up/Because your sexualities not in place/... What if you weren't acknowledged/In church, school, marriage, or work?". Homosexuals have always been a part of punk, despite punks more reactionary side, from the *Dicks* to MDC, to the *Apostales*, to *Homocore* zine. Send this one to those idiots the "Bad Brains"! CABAL, po box 2095 Quincy MA 02269 USA.

#### DEPRIVED "Resistance" ep

Resistance rec. A politically engaged band in a similar way to *Subvert*, with a more militant attitude than a lot of other 'political' bands. As the title of the ep suggests, there is a strong attitude of resistance throughout the seven tracks, including "Take from the Rich", "Riot", & "Who's Responsibility". Musically it's straight-forward punk, & unfortunately *Deprived* have called it a day. Comes with lyric sheet & a cool poster, write to *Deprived*, 1951 W. Burnside box 1928, Portland OR. 97209 USA.

#### TOUR DE FARCE Part 3, comp. Lp

eMpTy Rec. An "International Underground comp." with a variety of bands & styles from pre-dominantly "Third World" countries such as the Philippines, Brazil, Portugal, Columbia, Chile, Peru, Poland, Thailand, USSR & even Israel. Lots of energy & spirit from a great independent label. MT Rec. Muggenhoferstr. 39, 8500 Nurnberg, w. Germany.

#### MOSKWA Lp

Pronit rec. Undoubtedly one of the best punk records in not only Poland but probably the world!! Excellent music, lots of energy & lots of power, with enough changes to keep you interested. Try corresponding with some of the Polish punks to trade records.

#### THEY DON'T GET PAID... Comp. Lp

MRR rec. A Do It Yourself comp. with some of the cooler & lesser known bands; *Detonators*, *Nausea*, *Cringer*, *bazooka Joe*, *Libido Boyz*, *Dissent* etc. making for an enjoyable & varied record. Also included is a comp. zine w/ *Endless Struggle*, *Hippycore*, *Profane Existence*, *Time to Unite*, *Dead Jesus* etc. Great! MRR, PO Box 288, Berkeley Ca. 94701 USA.

#### COMPLICATION comp. Lp

Threshold. From the now defunct *Threshold* zine, an international comp. record. some of the bands include *President Fetch*, *Images*, *Raped Teenagers*, *Abblct*, *Instigators*, 88, & *Political Asylum*. A fine comp. with again a good amount of diversity & a good DIY attitude as the mmotivating factor. *Threshold* still continues, though not as the zine. *Threshold*, po box 2089-5600 CB Eindhoven Holland.

#### NO KKK-NO FASCIST USA! Spring 1990

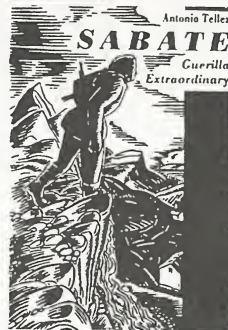
Newspaper of the John Brown Anti-Klan committee, news, articles on recent developments with the KKK & the fascists, as well as anti-imperialist articles such as El Salvador, Huey

Newton etc. 220-9th st. #443 San Francisco, CA 94103 USA.

#### BAD NEWZ no. 13

Death to the '80s issue. 66 pages jam-packed with print, collages etc., & somewhere in there you'll find interviews with the *Dickies*, *Effigies*, *Chumbawamba*, & a ton of reviews. \$3ppd to Bob Z. Stop-Gro c/o Sarris Bkmtng. 125 E. 23rd st. #300 New York, NY 10010 USA.

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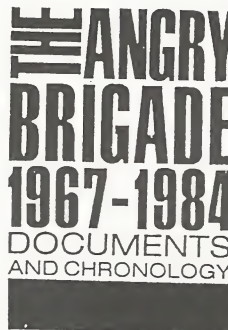
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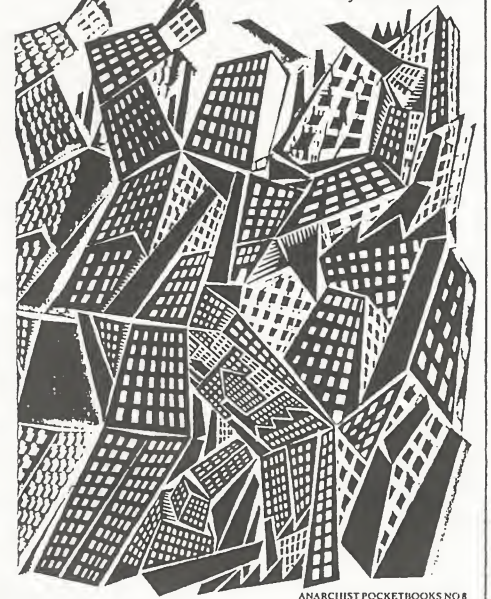


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Alfredo M Bonanno



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FROM RIOT TO INSURRECTION by Alfredo M. Bonanno

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With the industrial worker no longer central to production as emphasis changes from industrial to intellectual technology in the creation of post industrial capitalism, *Riot to Insurrection* shows how this new logic of capital is creating islands of privilege for those INCLUDED in its project. Changes such as decentralisation of production, use of computers, robots, the pre-eminence of the services sector, polarisation of education, all create barriers against the mass of EXCLUDED who will only be allowed access to enough of this new dominant LANGUAGE to use passively. This inaccessibility and segregation is essential to the repressive project because without a LANGUAGE in common the EXCLUDED are deprived of even knowing what to ask for. This results in the latter being pushed in a thousand ways towards impetuous, irrational, spontaneous rebellion. For in this new phase Capital has made reformist politics and parties redundant along with the industrial worker. The class struggle has not been overcome as some say therefore but has changed its form. *Riot to insurrection* gives a clear perspective of what is happening around us and with its analysis opens a door to formulating new ways of organisation and intervention. With this short and concise pocketbook ELEPHANT EDITIONS have brought to the attention of English readers an essential analysis which will stimulate to say the least.

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